

POLYGAMY, PROSTITUTES AND DEATH

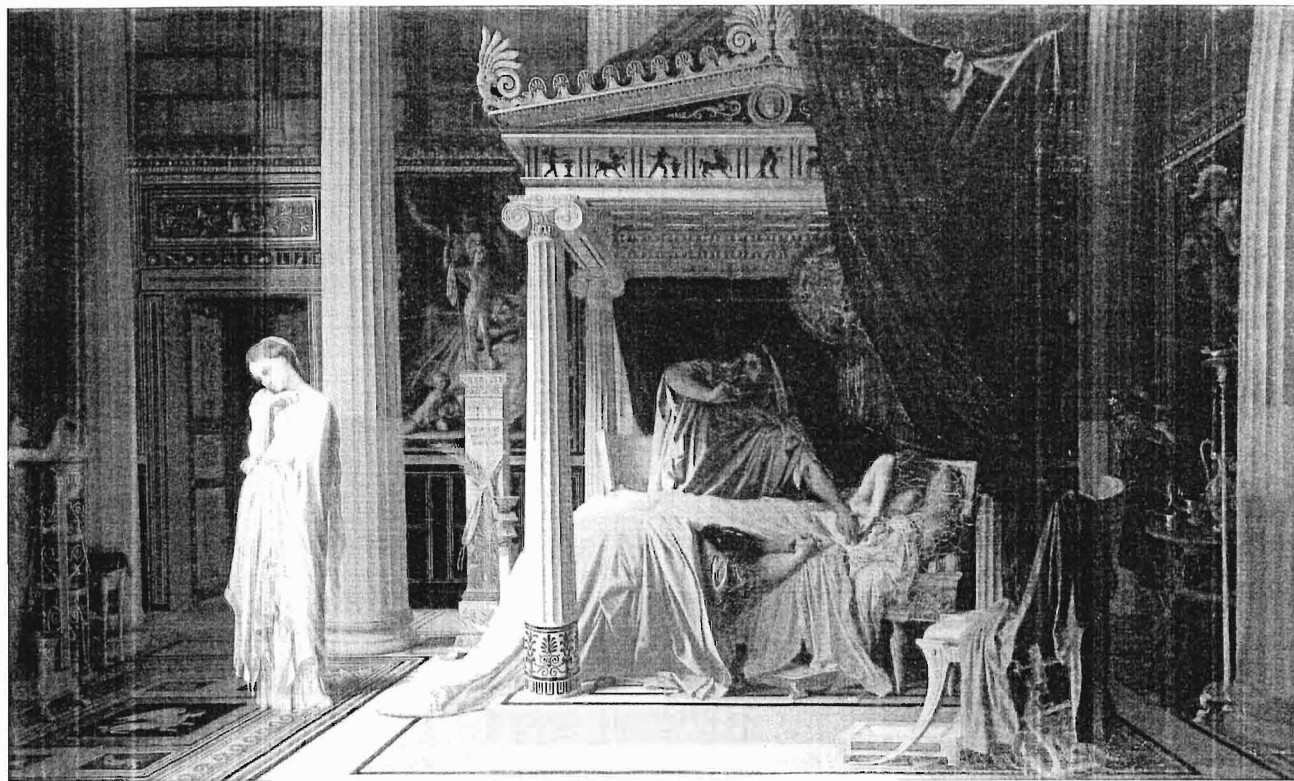
THE HELLENISTIC DYNASTIES



DANIEL OGDEN

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Frontispiece. Ingres, 'Antiochus et Stratonice'. © Musée Condé, Château de Chantilly. Photograph, Giraudon.

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AND DEATH
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Daniel Ogden

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CONTENTS

	Page
List of illustrations	<i>vi</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>vii</i>
Argument	<i>ix</i>
Part I. POLYGAMY AND DEATH IN THE MACEDONIAN AND HELLENISTIC COURTS	
1. Argead Macedon	3
2. Alexander	41
3. Cassander and Lysimachus	53
4. The Ptolemies	67
5. The Seleucids	117
6. The Antigonids	171
7. The Attalids	199
Part II. HELLENISTIC ROYAL COURTESANS	
8. Methodology and evidence	215
9. Status and career	231
10. Courtesans at work	259
Appendix 1. Women's quarters in hellenistic royal palaces	273
Appendix 2. Repertorium of sources for hellenistic royal courtesans	278
Appendix 3. King lists of the Argead and hellenistic dynasties	282
Bibliography	286
Index	309

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
<i>Frontispiece. Ingres, Antiochus et Stratonice</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Fig. 1. Alexander the Great</i>	41
<i>Fig. 2. Ptolemy I and Berenice I</i>	76
<i>Fig. 3. Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II</i>	76
<i>Fig. 4. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon</i>	87
<i>Fig. 5. Cleopatra VII</i>	102
<i>Fig. 6. Antiochus I</i>	121
<i>Fig. 7. Antiochus III</i>	133
<i>Fig. 8. Cleopatra Thea and Alexander Balas</i>	145
<i>Fig. 9. Demetrius Poliorcetes</i>	174
<i>Fig. 10. Philetaerus</i>	199

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The manuscript was closed down in early 1996, and it has not in general been possible to take account of scholarship published subsequently. A particular exception has been made for Grainger 1997.

ARGUMENT

The single most distinctive and defining feature of the hellenistic world was the chronic instability of the grand dynasties that presided over it. The bizarre, cruel and murderous familial disputes through which this instability expressed itself constitute the chief joy of the period for the ancient historian. Plutarch well encapsulated the phenomenon:

Almost all the other [hellenistic dynastic] lines [than the Antigonid] afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as for men killing their brothers,¹ just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognised postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety.

Plutarch *Demetrius* 3²

It is surprising that there has not been any attempt to provide a general explanation for the phenomenon that goes beyond Plutarch's level of analysis. This is perhaps because the disputes, as related in the largely anecdotal sources, initially appear quite chaotic, with the murders often seeming to be the products of the whimsical violence of half-crazed princelets. But it is my contention that virtually all the known intra-dynastic disputes and murders can be explained with reference to a fairly simple set of ideas.

The thesis is as follows. The Argead kings of Old Macedon were, for a number of reasons, polygamous (I shall normally use this term of the situation in which one man takes many wives, in preference to the less familiar 'polygynous'). They failed to establish any consistent method of hierarchising their wives and the sons that were born of them; it might be said that they failed to establish any consistent principles of royal legitimacy. Their various wives were therefore in fierce competition with each other to ensure both their own status and the succession of their sons, phenomena which were intimately linked. As Carney notes, 'In a polygamous situation the mother of a king's son is very likely to form a political unit with him, the goal of which is his succession.'³ Hence the bonds of loyalty between full-sibling groups and their mothers were particularly strong, with the children typically being more devoted to the mothers and full brothers on whom they could rely than to the fathers for whose esteem they had to compete.

Alexander's devotion to Olympias was fabled: one of her tears could wipe out 10,000 letters of complaint against her.⁴ The corollary was that rival wives hated each other; the various groups of paternal half-siblings hated each other; but the most intense hatred of all was reserved for the relationship between the children and their stepmothers. (If the term 'stepmother' is not usually applied to a concurrent, polygamous rival of one's own mother, the word's traditional connotations of malice are nonetheless apt here.)⁵ Relatives of the various wives also often involved themselves in the disputes on their behalf. The forging of the bond between mother and son in the furnace of such vicious disputes had a further consequence. Queen-mothers, i.e. the mothers of those sons who did make it to the throne, could remain extremely influential. Olympias is again the type.⁶ The various groups of children by the same father but different mothers are most conveniently labelled by the Greek term *amphimētores*, which Hesychius defines as follows:

Amphimētōr: sharing the same father, but not the same mother.⁷

The fact that the Greeks felt it necessary to develop such a word is telling in itself. We shall accordingly refer to disputes between the mother-and-children groups as 'amphimetric'.⁸ The specific subject of Part I of this book is precisely disputes of this kind. By contrast, disputes between full siblings were as rare as amphimetric disputes were common. Within each line of full siblings primogeniture appears to have operated, as is best illustrated by the fact that Amyntas III was succeeded by three sons born of Eurydice in descending order of age. The allegations of bastardy that arose within the royal houses are almost entirely intelligible as 'discursive', by which I mean as tendentious or persuasive claims made by one amphimetric group against another, with the bastardy claim being rationalised in a way that attempted to mark out some qualitative and supposedly significant difference between the two groups. This is particularly clear in the case of the disputes in the families of Philip II and Alexander III, the Great (chapters 1 and 2). It might be felt that a bastardy allegation could be hard to rationalise in a context where there was no fixed notion of legitimacy. But the rationalisations of bastardy were drawn from aspects of common legitimacy custom and practice from the Graeco-Macedonian world that surrounded the monarchy.

The hellenistic dynasties that eventually succeeded to the various parts of Alexander's empire inherited with them the same debilitating culture of unhierarchised polygamy and its concomitant, unhierarchised

legitimacy. Each dynasty responded to the problem in its own distinctive way, and with varying degrees of success:

The dynasty of Lysimachus plunged straight into an aggravated double dose of amphimetric strife in its first generation, which consequently became its last (chapter 3). Lysimachus married the Ptolemaic Arsinoe II, thus destabilising his established heir, Agathocles, the son of Nicaea. The crisis was exacerbated by the fact that at around the same time Agathocles married Arsinoe II's paternal half-sister Lysandra.

The Ptolemies of Egypt experienced a typically amphimetric and consequently shaky start in the first generation, which saw open disputes between the children of Ptolemy Soter: Ptolemy Ceraunus, son of Eurydice, against Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Berenice; and, separately, Lysandra, daughter of Eurydice, against Arsinoe II, daughter of Berenice. In the second generation Ptolemy II addressed the problem with the development of sister-marriage to mark out a privileged union. This worked for a time, but paradoxically culminated, in the generations of the brothers Ptolemies VI and VIII and of the brothers Ptolemies IX and X, in a system of marital disputes which virtually constituted negative images of amphimetric ones. Now the disputes were between the polyandrous brother-husbands of a single privileged queen, almost all of them Cleopatras. Concomitant in-breeding also undermined the viability of the male children now specially designated 'legitimate', i.e., the sister-born ones. The ironic result of this was that the only male children sufficiently vigorous to survive to take the throne were those born from mothers outside the royal family and thus now actually differentiated out as 'illegitimate'. This phenomenon, together with that of the privileging of the role of the Ptolemaic queens and princesses that sister-marriage entailed, reached its logical conclusion with the projected elevation to the throne of a child Ptolemaic on its mother's side only—Caesarion, son of Cleopatra VII and Julius Caesar (chapter 4).

In their first three generations the Seleucids fell victim to traditional amphimetric disputes, with only the first king, Seleucus I, addressing the problem by transferring a potentially destabilising wife of his own, Stratonice, to his designated heir, Antiochus I. In the third generation the dispute between the wives of Antiochus II, Laodice and Berenice Phernophoros, and their respective children, was dramatic. The energetic Antiochus III then looked, in the case of

his own children, to apparently Ptolemaic-style sister-marriage for a solution to the problem. He had his heir, Antiochus the Son, marry his sister Laodice, and, after the death of this son, had his next heir, Seleucus IV, do the same. But the dynasty soon thereafter fell under indirect Ptolemaic control, and accordingly began to replicate in some respects the legitimacy culture of the Ptolemies, insofar as Ptolemaic princesses, all Cleopatras, seem to have become requisite for the production of legitimate children, and to have been accorded an appropriately privileged status. Seleucus I's gift of his wife Stratonice to his son Antiochus I *inter vivos* was an imaginative solution that had averted an immediate catastrophe, but its long-term effects were more disastrous still. With the transfer of the king's bride Seleucus initiated a culture of dual monarchy (dyarchy) in his realm. This was unproblematic so long as the two kingships were occupied by father and son. But from the generation of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV onwards the two (effective) kingships came to be occupied instead by competing collateral lines, with civil war predictably ensuing between them. No sooner was one of these lines exterminated (that of Antiochus IV, with the death of Diodotus, who had attached himself to it), than a new split emerged in the line of Seleucus IV, in the generation of Demetrius II and Antiochus VII. The full-brother generations from whom the splits derived did not, incidentally, fight amongst themselves, the splits in both cases being engineered by the detention of a prince who expected to rule by a foreign power, in the first instance Rome, in the second Parthia (chapter 5).

The Antigonids were preserved from the damaging effects of amphimetric situations by a strong code of family loyalty, which was extended even to the sons of courtesans. The coherence of the dynasty was undermined only when the meddling of Rome inflicted upon it a traditional amphimetric legitimacy dispute, that between Perseus and Demetrius. This particular dispute, which had devastating effects, is the best documented of all those we shall consider, but it is as untypical of the Antigonid dynasty in particular as it is typical of the hellenistic kingdoms as a whole (chapter 6).

The Attalids were protected initially by what appears to have been particularly poor fertility, and also by a system of bourgeois monogamy. But as soon as one of their kings, Eumenes II, did get children from (probably) rival mothers, the dynasty succumbed to amphimetric strife (chapter 7).

I provide here a tabulation of all the certain and possible examples of amphimetric disputes in the Argead and hellenistic dynasties:

Argeads

1. Sons of Alexander I: Perdiccas II vs. Alcetas and Philip (possible)
2. Sons of Perdiccas II: Archelaus by Simiche vs. Aeropus by Cleopatra (certain)
3. Sons of Archelaus: Amyntas vs. Orestes (?) by Cleopatra (certain)
- 4a. Sons of Amyntas III: Ptolemy of Alorus vs. Alexander II, Perdiccas III, Philip II and Eury noe by Eurydice (possible)
- 4b. Sons of Amyntas III: Alexander II, Perdiccas III and Philip II by Eurydice vs. Archelaus, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus by Gygaea (certain)
- 5a. Family of Philip II: his son Alexander III by Olympias vs. his wife Cleopatra (certain)
- 5b. Sons of Philip II: Alexander III by Olympias vs. Arrhidaeus by Philinna (certain)
- 5c. Sons of Philip II: Alexander III by Olympias vs. Caranus and others (possible)
6. Wives of Alexander III: Roxane vs. Barsine-Stateira (certain)

Lysimachus

7. Sons of Lysimachus: Agathocles by Nicaea vs. Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Philip by Arsinoe II (certain)

Ptolemies

- 8a. Sons of Ptolemy I Soter: Ceraunus et al. by Eurydice vs. Philadelphus by Berenice (certain)
- 8b. Daughters of Ptolemy I Soter: Lysandra by Eurydice vs. Arsinoe II by Berenice (certain)
9. Women of Ptolemy IV Philopator: Arsinoe III vs. Agathocleia (certain)

Seleucids

10. Sons of Seleucus I Nicator: Antiochus by Apama vs. Stratonice (potential, averted)
11. Family of Antiochus I: his son Seleucus by Stratonice vs. his wife Nysa (possible)
12. Family of Antiochus II: his sons Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax by Laodice vs. his wife Berenice Phernophoros and her son (certain)
13. Wives of Demetrius II: Cleopatra Thea vs. Rhodogoune (certain)

Antigonids

14. Sons of Philip V: Perseus by Polycrateia, vs. Demetrius (certain)

Attalids

15. Sons of Eumenes II: Attalus III vs. Aristonicus by 'Ephesian'? (possible)

Instances of strife between brothers who can be proved to be full are very much the exception. The only significant examples of disputes between full brothers are that between Antipater and Alexander V, the sons of Cassander and Thessalonice, and that between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus II and Laodice. It is a curiosity that these two anomalous disputes had a distinctively similar origin, namely the preference of the widowed queen-mother for her younger rather than her elder son. The occurrence of these two disputes at any rate serves to underline the point that primogeniture was the norm within full-brother groups. The disputes between some of the later Ptolemies, such as that between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII and that between Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X, were technically disputes between men who were full brothers and indeed more, but these disputes occurred in the context of a tightly incestuous system in which the significance of full-brotherhood had by then been radically transformed.

Problems of polygamy and legitimacy

The investigation of legitimacy culture in the Argead and hellenistic kingdoms has been encumbered over the last century by two fallacies. The first is the belief that the dynasties were serially monogamous rather than polygamous (I apply the latter term only to the holding of partners *concurrently*). Many scholars—perhaps the majority—do now accept that the Argeads at any rate practised polygamy, but since the serial-monogamy fallacy is so firmly entrenched in a large number of the works that remain basic to the study of Argead and hellenistic dynastic history, and since it has frequent knock-on effects upon the work even of scholars who ostensibly accept polygamy, it still deserves some attention here. One of the fallacy's most influential proponents was the great German scholar Beloch. His conviction that the Argead dynasty was serially monogamous led him not only to demote arbitrarily some of Philip's known wives to the status of 'Nebenfrauen' or 'concubines', but also to reorder the relative chronology of Satyrus' careful list of Philip's wives to avoid clashes between the tenures of the women he wished to retain at full uxorial level.⁹ Beloch's influence still misdirects recent and important authorities such as Seibert, Hamilton and Green, the last writing as recently as 1990.¹⁰ Griffith fell so far under Beloch's spell that he misattributed Beloch's order of wives to Satyrus himself!¹¹ Other writers have promoted the same fallacy in the context of the various hellenistic dynasties.¹²

The question of monogamy and polygamy among the Argeads has been further complicated by the debate as to whether the Macedonians were 'Greek' (a debate which has recently become savagely politicised),

with polygamy being considered alien to the 'Greeks'. The racial aspect of this debate is unaddressable and in any case irrelevant to the issue in hand. But whatever the Macedonians themselves or the classical Greeks thought, they did indeed have a culture which was fundamentally 'Greek' according to any realistic definition of the term. In particular, they spoke Greek and worshipped Greek gods. Furthermore, they come to appear ever more Greek in their material culture with each of the brilliant new archaeological discoveries in Macedonia. The Macedonian court itself participated in high Greek culture to such an extent that Archelaus brought Euripides to it to be his resident dramatist.¹³ But the 'Greekness' of the Macedonians' culture does not in itself militate against the possibility that they practised polygamy. The Greeks can be shown to have practised polygamy themselves from time to time, particularly in royal or quasi-royal contexts, as we shall see below. On the other side of the coin, the common Spartiates were renowned for their polyandrous practices.¹⁴

Polygamy is in fact clearly demonstrable in many of the Argead and hellenistic families we shall be considering in the course of the book. Here we may confine ourselves to singling out two unequivocal assertions of its practice:

Furthermore, Demetrius [I, Poliorcetes] did a thing that was not prohibited, but customary for the kings of Macedon from Philip and Alexander: he made many marriages, just as did Lysimachus and Ptolemy, and he kept all the women he married *in honour* (*dia timēs*).

Plutarch *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony* 4

[Pyrrhus] cultivated Berenice in particular, seeing that she was the most powerful and the foremost in virtue and intelligence of the wives of Ptolemy [I].

Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4

In the first passage the phrase *in honour* is meaningless except in a polygamous context; the second passage entails that Pyrrhus selected Berenice from a series of concurrent wives. Satyrus' fragment on Philip's marriages also explicitly affirms polygamy, as we shall see in chapter 1.

The issue of polygamy itself is closely associated with that of legitimacy. Although *in theory* one may be polygamous and yet maintain a hard and fast 'legitimacy' differentiation between the children of wives and those of non-wives,¹⁵ polygamy does contingently tend to erode legitimacy distinctions because marriage ceases to be the exclusive, defined thing that it is in a monogamous system, where the presence of one 'wife' *ipso facto* consigns all other female partners to a different and lesser status.

As we have said, however, a number of scholars specialising in Argead dynastic matters have in recent years come to accept the polygamous structure of the Argead dynasty and the associated fluidity of legitimacy within it.¹⁶ Here the name of Carney deserves particular mention.¹⁷ She and Greenwalt have appropriately compared the Argead dynasty to that of the Merovingians, with the latter observing that 'Polygamy's de-stabilising tendency is a natural by-product of the production of many heirs, each with a built-in support group focused in the first instance on the offspring's interests, and in the second on those of his mother and her family.'¹⁸ The same thing happened in the families of the Ottoman emperors¹⁹ and happens still in a number of contemporary tribal societies.²⁰ The fluidity of legitimacy in the Argead family had occasionally been recognised by earlier scholars. It was recognised by Tarn in 1920, although the distinguished scholar's remarks had little impact: 'In the Macedonian aristocracy...legitimacy was at best a rather vague matter.'²¹ In 1937 Dow and Edson, contradicting themselves, it is true, had asserted that 'The Macedonians did not have any such clear-cut conception of legitimacy and illegitimacy as exists in modern times.'²²

A proponent of the monogamy line may object that although it is difficult for *us* to make status-distinctions between the partners and children of the various hellenistic kings, this is due to the insufficiency of evidence rather than the ambivalence of the original situations. But there certainly is sufficient evidence for original ambivalence in many cases, and it is proper for us to extrapolate from these. Original ambivalence is the very meat that amphimetric strife fed upon, and amphimetric strife itself certainly produced situations of ambivalence, even if there had been hierarchisation of some sort beforehand.

At this point a question arises: If polygamy was so debilitating to the dynasties, why did the kings use it in the first place? It did have some advantages: since marital alliances constituted the most important diplomatic tool available to the kings, they would not have wanted to hobble their foreign policy with monogamy (Satyrus' fragment on Philip's marriages is particularly apposite here). It should be noted that if a union with a foreign woman was to have a diplomatic effect, then the woman inevitably had to be seen to be married, and not kept in some disrespectful status of concubinage. Also, Macedonian armies expected to be led from the front by royal blood, an expectation which was of course expensive of such blood, and so entailed the siring of many princes.²³ Perhaps, at a more basic level, the Macedonian and hellenistic kings married many wives simply because they could. The

obvious desirability of feminine comforts aside, a plurality of wives was a manifest signifier of the king's high and perhaps exceptional status: it advertised the possession of a wealth great enough to keep so many fine ladies in a manner at least as satisfactory as that to which their girlhood had accustomed them. But whatever the cause of dynastic polygamy 'in the first place', once the system was instituted its own disastrous effects upon the mortality of princes (battle wastage aside) paradoxically encouraged its replication: kings were spurred on to sire many heirs by the expectation that amphimetric strife would carry many of them off.

The second fallacy to have encumbered the study of Macedonian and hellenistic dynastic legitimacy culture, and one which still wields a considerable amount of influence, is the belief that these dynasties shared an unchanging, constitutional law of succession. Proponents of such a belief, 'constitutionalists', attempt to reconstruct this succession law by (inevitably) confusing evidence from different dynasties or different generations of the same dynasty. This approach is systematically blind to the normally contentious or discursive nature of questions and representations of legitimacy and bastardy in non- or semi-constitutional monarchies, and to changes over time and variations between dynasties in legitimacy culture. The constitutionalist fallacy may be illustrated from Strack's words on the Ptolemies: he singles out first Apion and Auletes as 'bastards' (both are indeed branded as such in some sources), apparently useful examples since the second reached the throne but the first did not; he compares their circumstances with those of 'bastards' from different dynasties, the Antigonid Perseus and the sons of the sixth-century Athenian tyrant Pisistratus, and then with 'bastards' from the same dynasty two centuries earlier, the children of Ptolemy I Soter by Thais; he compares also the laws of Athens and 'most Greek states'; he concludes that Ptolemaic bastards had no right of succession.²⁴ Strack wrote a hundred years ago, but constitutionalism remains endemic in modern scholarship on the Argead and hellenistic dynasties. Bickerman similarly draws out constitutional principles for the Seleucid succession system from a case study of the 'bastard' Alexander Balas.²⁵ Constitutionalist approaches are taken to the Attalids by Breccia and Hopp, who assert that bastards could not succeed at Pergamum until the king had legally recognised them.²⁶ So confident is Hatzopoulos in the constitutionality of Argead succession and its static nature that he writes his history of succession in the dynasty *backwards* from the generation of Philip II (he believes that the principle of porphyrogeniture or 'birth in purple' operated).²⁷ Sometimes

constitutionalism is more implicit and insidious: many scholars make passing generalisations about the various dynasties' treatment of 'wives' as opposed to 'mistresses' or of 'illegitimate' as opposed to 'legitimate' children.²⁸ A modern confusion of evidence between dynasties is found in Will's observation that the 160s and the 150s constituted an 'Age of Bastards' throughout the hellenistic world.²⁹ The fallacy of the attempt to apply constitutionalism generally to the institutions of Argead Macedon has been very well expounded by a number of more recent scholars, notably Errington, Borza and, again, Carney.³⁰

A frequent concomitant of the constitutionalist fallacy is the circular tendency to construct succession-*right* from actual successions, as is done, for example, by Hatzopoulos for the Argeads.³¹ Beloch, Macurdy, Meloni and Le Bohec take a similar approach to the Antigonids, arguing that Philip V and Perseus were both legitimate because they did actually succeed.³² Such exercises of course ride rough-shod over emphatic assertions in our sources that certain kings came to the throne against right (e.g. the Argead Archelaus).³³

Not exactly constitutionalist, but nonetheless similarly blind to the discursive nature of the evidence are views that all allegations of bastardy against individual princes and kings in our sources derive from a systematic distortion by those sources, whether through misunderstanding or a propagandist agenda. Thus for Mahaffy all representations of Ptolemies as bastards derived from Roman-serving propagandist historians,³⁴ whereas for Hammond, Hatzopoulos, Greenwalt and Carney attributions of bastardy to Argead kings derived from the Greek sources' misunderstanding of the succession system that operated in Macedon³⁵ (yet the allegation of bastardy against Alexander III is certainly rooted firmly in Macedon).³⁶

A necessary concomitant of both the serial-monogamy fallacy and the constitutionalist fallacy is the more or less arbitrary pre-selection of those partners that are going to be considered 'queens', 'wives', 'mistresses' and 'courtesans',³⁷ and the linked arbitrary pre-selection of those children that are going to be considered 'legitimate' and of those that are going to be considered 'genuinely bastard' as opposed to merely 'allegedly bastard' or 'pretenders.' A contingent but frequent concomitant is the attempt to hammer dynastic bastards into the mould of common bastardy in classical Athens.

It will therefore be our task to analyse bastardy discursively, i.e., to ask what group is distinguished from what by any allegation of bastardy, and to ask *cui bono* in the case of any such allegation. It will

also be our task to analyse, in the first instance, the various dynasties in isolation from each other, and each generation of the individual dynasties similarly, eschewing any temptation to treat the entire span of a dynasty as a single synchronic whole. Only in this way will we be able to reveal differences both subtle and extreme between the legitimacy cultures of the various dynasties, and the great developments across time within each dynasty. Such a granular analysis, however methodologically sound, may appear to promise repetitiveness and tedium to the reader. But the speedy rate of development within the dynasties, and the peculiarities of events in and evidence for each separate generation, should banish concerns on this score. That said, the book is designed to be ‘used’ as much as it is to be read through from cover to cover: the general thesis has been laid out here in the argument; the shapes of the various chapters are laid out at the start of each; and the treatments of the various generations of the dynasties are clearly distinguished from each other within the chapters. The study will not dwell upon dynastic generations or murders which afford no exploitable evidence for the issues addressed: a number of generations and episodes in the Argead dynasty in particular fall into such a category.

Further aspects of amphimetrisism

A partial remedy for the problems arising from amphimetrisism was to bind the disparate, centrifugal strands of the family together by further marriage. Sometimes a king would achieve this by orchestrating marriages in his own lifetime between members of the various strands, as did Archelaus and Seleucus I. But the most common mechanism for the consolidation of strands was levirate marriage. This describes that type of marriage whereby one succeeds to a dead man’s position by marrying his widow: one steps into his shoes by stepping into his bed. (I do not use the term levirate in its strictest sense here to denote widow marriages by the *brothers* alone of the dead men.) We should not think that a levirate marriage was always expected of the new Argead kings on their succession, but a number of such unions can be pointed to, such as that of Archelaus to Cleopatra, widow of his father Perdiccas II, and that of Ptolemy of Alorus to Eurydice, widow of Amyntas III. Such a marriage constituted an important ‘legitimizing’ (in the broad sense) gesture in its own right, and this was particularly true in the case of the possibly usurping Ptolemy of Alorus. Although Argead kings were normally succeeded by their sons, levirate marriage did not inflict incest with their own mothers upon them: their father’s polygamy preserved them from this. Often their father’s last wife

would remain a young and nubile widow, like the Cleopatra left behind by Philip II on his assassination. It may be noted that levirate marriage seems particularly at home in a system which encourages the king's wives to develop strong personalities.

Such late-married young wives could constitute a keener amphimetric threat than other wives, and so it was particularly important to neutralise them. They had to fight with greater viciousness even than usual to protect the interests of their small children against the ambitions of the established adult sons, as did Arsinoe II at the court of Lysimachus. And the ambitions of such women for themselves and their children could in any case be greater than those of other wives: not only might they, unlike their rivals, consider that they had not been superseded in the old king's affections, but the universal affinity between pretty young women and powerful old men may have induced him to elevate her status and that of her children to particular heights. We are reminded of *Genesis*' description of Jacob's attitude towards Joseph: 'Now Israel loved Joseph more than any other of his sons, because he was a child of his old age.'³⁸ The case of Lysimachus is particularly relevant here (chapter 3).

The study of royal families has in recent years been perceived as unfashionable in ancient history, not that I care anything for that. However, the new series of books devoted to the reigns of individual hellenistic monarchs presumably marks at least a temporary return to acceptability for royal studies.³⁹ This revival may be indirectly associated with the rise in women's studies in ancient history: for all that feminist historiography might be felt to have an instinctive antipathy for such an 'elitist' subject, it has taken up the hellenistic queens avidly in the general dearth of evidence for the lives of individual non-royal women in antiquity.⁴⁰ In focusing on a royal topic I may be felt to be implicitly advocating a 'top-down' approach to history. This is not necessarily the case: my first aim is to understand the instability of the Argead and hellenistic royal families in and of itself. In some cases it can be seen that disputes within the royal families align themselves with wider disputes and issues within the kingdom (this seems particularly true, for example, of the dispute between the Antigonids Perseus and Demetrius, of that between the Seleucid sons of Antiochus II, and of that between the Ptolemies VI Philometor and VIII Physcon). In these cases one might argue that ruptures within the dynasty are at least in part caused by external and wider forces—a 'bottom-up' approach. It is, however, my opinion that inherent familial instability is the single most powerful explanation of the disputes within and the eventual collapse of the hellenistic dynasties.

A corollary of the hypothesis that polygamously held wives were usually the bitterest of rivals, and often inclined to murder each other or each other's offspring, is the hypothesis that the kings must have made substantial efforts to keep their various women apart as much as possible, be it by housing them in remote parts of a single palace, in separate palaces, or even in separate cities. Little is known, or—it appears—knowable, about the accommodation arrangements made for concurrent wives, but some tentative observations on the issue are made in appendix 1.

Royal courtesans

A number of the women associated with the hellenistic kings are strongly characterised in the sources, rightly or wrongly, as courtesans. As will already be clear, one of the major purposes of this study is to stress the weakness of the distinction between royal 'wives' and 'courtesans', a thing which is most obviously true in the case of the Antigonid dynasty. It is curious that, despite the current scholarly popularity of all matters relating to gender as whole and to courtesans in particular,⁴¹ there has been no recent attempt to produce a general account of hellenistic royal courtesans, for which there is after all a reasonable amount of evidence, albeit problematic. It therefore seems appropriate to support our study of the structure of the hellenistic dynasties with a treatment of (actual) royal courtesans and to take this opportunity to provide a general survey of what can be known about them. This constitutes Part II of the book.

Further aspects of evidence and presentation

The evidence exploited in this study is derived from the full range of the exasperatingly disconnected series of literary sources, inscriptions, papyri and coins that are familiar to those investigating any aspect of hellenistic history. There is not room for a detailed account of the pedigrees of the literary sources, nor would the usefulness of such an account justify the space it would have to occupy. General surveys of them can in any case be found in some of the standard synoptic works on the period, that of Préaux's work being particularly good.⁴² Here I confine myself to brief notices about the most important ones. (It will, however, be possible and profitable to investigate more deeply the sources that bear particularly on hellenistic royal courtesans in chapter 8.)

The only fully extant and coherent (I use this word loosely) account of the political and dynastic history of Argead Macedon and the hellenistic world is Justin's epitome of the *Philippic Histories* of

Pompeius Trogus.⁴³ Trogus, whose Gaulish grandfather had been put into a toga by Pompey, wrote under Augustus⁴⁴ and entered the canon of the four great Latin historians, alongside Sallust, Livy and Tacitus.⁴⁵ Little is known for sure of his hellenistic sources, though the names of Hieronymus of Cardia, Phylarchus (for both of whom see below), Timagenes of Alexandria and Posidonius are touted. Justin epitomated Trogus at some point between the second and fourth centuries AD, probably earlier rather than later, and produced a summary perhaps a tenth the length of the original, without claiming to draw evenly upon all its parts. The work is relatively useful for the study of kings and queens and dynastic issues, particularly those resolved by the murder of kin, since Trogus and Justin alike revelled in such things, and produced some elaborately rhetoricised accounts of the killings. Sometimes, one feels, the rhetoric takes over: the account of Ptolemy Ceraunus' killing of the children of Arsinoe II at his wedding to her and that of Ptolemy VIII Physcon's killing of Ptolemy VII, the child of Cleopatra II, at his wedding to her, are rather similar.⁴⁶ But, however much these tales may be dressed up, there is no good reason to doubt that the murders described took place. Ultimately more worrying are the frequent chronological blunders in the text, and its confusions between kings of the same name and, the complement of this, erroneous differentiations of the same historical individual into two.⁴⁷

Trogus named his work after the *Philippic histories* of Theopompus of Chios (378–c. 320 BC), and Theopompus was evidently the source of information for Trogus' account of Philip II and perhaps those of the earlier Argeads, as he was, ultimately, for most other historical writing on Philip. Theopompus found the private lives of Philip and the other Macedonians of great interest.⁴⁸

Several major accounts of the life and adventures of Alexander the Great survive.⁴⁹ The most important is the *Anabasis of Alexander* of Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 85–160 AD), which was based primarily on the court-centred and apologetic but nonetheless worthy accounts of Ptolemy I Soter himself and of Aristobulus of Cassandreia, the latter of whom served Alexander in a junior capacity.⁵⁰ The historian Cleitarchus also probably accompanied Alexander, and published, perhaps in around 310 BC, a rhetorical account of the expedition which some in antiquity regarded as imaginative, but which came to form the basis of the so-called vulgate tradition, represented in the surviving accounts of Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Justin, and the *Metz Epitome*.⁵¹ The account of Curtius (*floruit* first–second century AD) is of particular value for the disputes among the Diadochi at Babylon after

Alexander's death. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* preserves much personal information about Alexander not found elsewhere, deriving in part from letters preserved under Alexander's name, some of which may have been genuine.⁵²

Diodorus Siculus (*floruit* mid-first century BC) is the most important source by far for the Diadochic period. Books 18–20 of his *Library of history* closely followed the lost history of Hieronymus of Cardia, a close associate of Eumenes of Cardia and each of the first three Antigonid kings. Hieronymus now has the name of having been the most worthy among the hellenistic historians: an actor at the heart of the events he describes; a detailed and wide-ranging yet lucid and lively writer; a man with clear sympathies towards those he served but less subject to what used to be called bias than most of antiquity's historians.⁵³

Hieronymus' history finished in 272 with the death of Pyrrhus, and was continued, in tragic and romantic style, by that of the third-century Phylarchus of Athens or Naucratis, who took his narrative down to the death of Cleomenes III of Sparta in 220. We owe most of the identifiable extant fragments of this work to Athenaeus.⁵⁴

The most important source of information about middle-hellenistic dynastic matters, covering in particular the 220–146 period, is the careful and systematic work of Polybius (c. 200–118), which he himself regarded as 'pragmatic'. He has much to tell us about the later Antigonids from Antigonus Doson to Perseus. Polybius moved among those with direct experience of them. He also has much to say of the other three hellenistic dynasties, especially during the period of his own lifetime, and in particular tells us much about the Seleucid Antiochus III, the Attalid Eumenes II, and Ptolemy IV.⁵⁵ On the whole, the kings did not impress him. Polybius constituted the Roman historian Livy's (59 BC–17 AD) main source for the initial Roman encroachment on the Greek east. Books 31–45 of the latter's text can usefully fill out our information on hellenistic episodes lost from Polybius, although he usually gives his material a more overtly pro-Roman spin.⁵⁶

Jewish sources are of much value for later Seleucid history, from the point at which the Jews came to blows with the dynasty: Josephus' *Jewish antiquities*, published in 93/4 AD,⁵⁷ and drawing much upon the work of Nicolaus of Damascus, court historian to Herod the Great;⁵⁸ and 1 and 2 *Maccabees* from the Old Testament apocrypha. Useful for the Seleucids also is Book 11 of Appian's (*floruit* early second century AD) *Roman history*, in which he narrates the Syrian Wars.

Plutarch's *floruit* coincided with Appian's. A number of his *Parallel Lives* are of use. Apart from the *Alexander*, which gives us very helpful accounts of the disputes within the family of Philip II, the *Demetrius* preserves a wealth of information about the complex family of the Antigonid Demetrius Poliorcetes at the beginning of the hellenistic world, and the paired biography of *Antony* tells us much about the family of Cleopatra VII at the end of the hellenistic world.⁵⁹ His *Pyrrhus* and *Aratus* are also helpful to our particular interests here. We are fortunate that Plutarch saw the private lives of his subjects as particularly revelatory of character, and that he had a concomitant interest in the family, also on display in many of the works collected in his *Moralia*. Plutarch only makes passing and unsystematic references to the sources upon which he draws, and it is seldom otherwise possible to know the pedigree of any particular piece of dynastic information he preserves for us.

A sparse but often helpful chronological framework for dynastic matters in the hellenistic world is provided the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (260–339 AD), which is lost in its original form, but is reflected in the Latin translation of Jerome and also in Armenian and Syriac translations, and underlies a series of Byzantine Greek chronographies, such as that of the ninth-century scholar Syncellus. Eusebius' *Chronicle* in turn based its account of the hellenistic dynasties on the earlier *Chronicle* of Porphyry (234–c. 305 AD).⁶⁰ Eusebius preserves a few dynastic names we would not otherwise know.

Many of the more detailed accounts of dynastic disputes appear—issues of bias aside—to be rhetoricised or, in a broad sense, romanticised. Some of the juicier examples of such anecdotes are quoted at length in the following text, to demonstrate the flavour of this sort of narrative. Except where otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

This book builds the best patterns it can out of this fragmentary, biased, romanticised and partly mangled evidence, which is not going to be replaced by anything better. Some would-be purists, sadly, when faced with such rebarbative source-material, prefer the desert; this book, in common with all others written on hellenistic dynastic history, aims at a poor knowledge of something rather than perfect knowledge of nothing. I often choose to be more frank and explicitly cautious than some others about the tenuousness of the evidence for the reconstruction of the dynastic prosopographies and genealogies upon which its central thesis depends, and about the precariousness of arguments built upon such evidence. In some important respects here the study is heavily conservative: few connections argued for in the following

pages between the various kings, wives and princes of the hellenistic dynasties have not been proposed by others before me, as will be clear to those who follow up the endnotes.

We should not lose sight of the wood for the trees. For while the bias and romanticisation of some of the individual narratives upon which this study is based may somewhat undermine confidence in the historicity of their small detail, they do not threaten their general 'plot-lines'. It may not always be possible to reconstruct each individual dynastic 'episode' in itself in a completely conclusive fashion. But the overall picture of the developing structure of the dynasties that the synthesis of these separate reconstructions generates is one of great coherence. This is particularly true in regard to the central issue of amphimetrisism and its consequences. It is important to keep in mind that the source material for these dynasties is extremely diverse in its origins and its traditions, and it is inconceivable that it has all been corrupted and perverted in the same systematic way in the course of its transmission, so as to generate an overall picture which is coherent yet essentially false.

The hypothesis of this book is a 'strong' one in so far as it is argued that virtually all generations of the major hellenistic dynasties can be seen as involved either in amphimetrisism or in some sort of process of reaction to it. In many key generations an amphimetric or 'post-amphimetric' situation is made sufficiently clear by the sources, but in some generations, particularly those in which the information is actually sparse rather than merely 'bad', the source material that is available, whilst not being incompatible with the hypothesis, may provide little direct justification in itself for the invocation of the hypothesis. But we can only explain that which is less clear with reference to that which is more clear, and in such cases it is only appropriate to show, cautiously, how such evidence, as far as it goes, fits into the hypothesis. Where evidence is apparently at odds with the general hypothesis, the point is clearly advertised. The cases of the sons of Cassander and Thessalonice and of Antiochus II and Laodice are particularly relevant here.

I have not been tempted to produce one-page family trees for the dynasties discussed in this book. Versions of such trees may be found elsewhere.⁶¹ They are inevitably horribly complicated because of the difficulties of representing multiple marriages each with multiple offspring, multiple re-marriages within the same family and multiple multiply 'incestuous' unions. Instead I have prefaced each discussion of an individual king's (or occasionally queen's) family with a simple table of their partners and the children they had by each. The tables

are backed up by a series of king-lists in appendix 3; even these can be complicated for the hellenistic period, and this is particularly true of the Seleucid one.

The primary purpose of the collation and discussion of the evidence for the constituents and structures of the families of the Argead and hellenistic kings here is to support the central argument of the book, and this accounts for differing degrees of emphasis and detail in the treatments of the various generations. The volume is not in conception a handbook to the personnel of the dynasties, although it may to a certain extent be used as such, since it has been necessary under the project to give at least a mention to all the identifiable wives, courtesans and children of each king.

All dates are BC unless marked AD.

Amphimetric disputes in the Greek world

Before passing on to the analysis of the development of the various dynasties, it will be well briefly to site the phenomenon of *amphimētores* and amphimetrism in its wider Greek context. A substantial number of amphimetric disputes is documented in the Greek world, at both common and (quasi-) royal level. In around 413 the Athenians, having lost a significant proportion of their young male population in the Sicilian disaster, introduced a concession that permitted the remaining men to take two wives.⁶² The primary aim of the measure was to restore manpower levels in the next generation, but it may also have been designed to allow Athenian citizen women to exercise their right to a husband and motherhood (at this time legitimate and citizen children could ensue only from marriages between two citizens). We can point to up to three examples of men taking advantage of this concession, all of them unhappy. Socrates took on both Myrto and Xanthippe under the concession and had sons from both. Porphyry tells that the women only ever stopped fighting with each other to attack Socrates for not stopping them from fighting.⁶³ Aulus Gellius tells that Euripides also took two wives under the concession, and that it was this that caused him to pour out so much hatred upon women in his tragedies.⁶⁴ It is possible that it was under this concession that Callias, having married the daughter of Ischomachus, brought her mother Chrysilla too into his house. The daughter first attempted suicide, and then ran away. The question of the legitimacy of the son whom Chrysilla then bore Callias was fraught, although in the end he was compelled to accept it.⁶⁵ But amphimetric disputes did not occur only in situations of concurrent polygamy: they could equally well

arise in situations of serial monogamy, particularly if two lines of children had been fathered. Several classical Athenian forensic speeches bear upon issues of this sort. Antiphon's speech *Against a stepmother for poisoning* (late fifth-century) is directed against the speaker's father's second wife and her son, his half-brother, who is accused of defending her with excessive loyalty.⁶⁶ Two speeches of Demosthenes for Mantitheus son of Mantias, against his amphimetric half-brother Boiotos and indirectly against Boiotos' mother Plangon, catalogue a protracted series of insults, dirty tricks and accusations of bastardy between the two (340s). The two mothers appear to have been sequentially held wives, but their situation had become approximated to one of polygamy when Mantias had returned to live with his first wife, Plangon.⁶⁷

Long before the bigamy concession was made Euripides was writing tragedies which dramatised the agonies of amphimetric disputes in a royal context, and which uncannily prefigured the disputes of the hellenistic world. In *Medea* (431) Medea, dishonoured alongside her children by her husband Jason when he abandons them for a new young wife, Glauce, a princess of Corinth, takes revenge by murdering the princess and her father the king. She also goes so far as to murder her own children by Jason, as a way of dramatically representing the fact that in dishonouring her he has reduced their status to nothing.⁶⁸ In *Andromache* (425) Hermione, the grand wife of Neoptolemus, is crazed with envy towards his slave concubine Andromache, since she has borne him a son, Molossus, 'bastard' or not, whereas she herself is infertile (for which she blames witchcraft by her rival). She attempts to murder them both for fear that they will consequently usurp her own position in the household.⁶⁹ Along the way the chorus makes a profound observation about the perils of amphimetricism:

I shall never approve of the twofold beds of mortals, nor of amphimetric children (*amphimatorias korous*), strifes and hostile griefs for houses.

Euripides *Andromache* 465–7

In *Ion* (before 412?) the supposedly childless Creusa is similarly crazed with envy towards Ion, whom she takes to be her husband Xuthus' 'bastard' son by another woman, and whose establishment in their house she takes to constitute a usurpation of her own position; she accordingly attempts to murder him.⁷⁰

Some amphimetric disputes in Greek (quasi-) royal contexts may also be noticed.⁷¹ When the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus took on (polygamously?) the daughter of Megacles c. 551, he outraged her and her father by refusing to have conventional sex with her, on the

ground that he already had grown sons in Hippias and Hipparchus, who had been the mainstays of his rule from the first.⁷² He clearly did not wish to jeopardise their succession by getting sons from a woman with such powerful and prestigious relatives. Of particular interest is the bitter dispute between the amphimetric sons of the Spartan king Anaxandridas II. He had refused to divorce his beloved but apparently infertile first wife, and so was compelled by an extraordinary resolution of the ephors and the council of elders to take on a second wife in addition. As soon as Cleomenes had been born from the second wife, three sons were produced by the first wife, of whom Dorieus was the eldest. The bitter disputes between the two lines resulted in Cleomenes reaching the throne (c. 522), and Dorieus being driven into exile and eventually to death. This particular dispute appears to anticipate hellenistic amphimetric disputes in an important respect, since it became aligned with a policy dispute: Dorieus and his brothers appear to have been advocates of a 'Dorian' policy, whilst Cleomenes advocated an 'Achaean' one.⁷³

Another amphimetric dispute occurred in the family of Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse. After the death of his childless first wife, the daughter of Hermocrates,⁷⁴ he married, as Plutarch tells, two women on the same day in 397, Aristomache of Syracuse and Doris of Locri. Plutarch is exercised by the impossibility of imposing rank on the two unions, and in fretting about this question implicitly suggests some criteria that might be invoked to determine hierarchy: rank could not be determined from prior consummation, because Dionysius kept this secret; it could not be determined from Dionysius' attention to them, since he dined with them both together and slept with each in turn. The precedence of Aristomache was suggested by the Syracusans' preference for their citizenwoman, but this was counterbalanced by the fact that Doris was the first to bear Dionysius a son (Dionysius II). The hatred between the unfortunate wives and dinner partners can be divined from the fact that Dionysius found it necessary to execute Doris' mother for poisoning the womb of her daughter's rival (shades here of the *Andromache*).⁷⁵ Dionysius had taken on Doris from Locri after Rhegium had rudely rebuffed his request for a bride from among its girls, offering him only the daughter of the public executioner.⁷⁶ Nepos says that Dionysius sired lines of children from three different women, but nothing else is known about this third line or its mother.⁷⁷ After the death of Dionysius rivalry between the two identifiable family groups plunged Syracuse into terrible civil war. The tyrant was succeeded in 367 by Doris' son Dionysius II, but the succession was opposed by Dion, the

brother of Aristomache, who attempted to secure the succession for her sons from the elder Dionysius' deathbed. Dion's devotion to Aristomache and her line was strengthened by his marriage to one of her daughters, his niece Arete. (Curiously, Dionysius I had also given one of Aristomache's daughters to her half-brother Dionysius II, perhaps in an attempt to maximise his own blood in the third generation.) Dionysius II and his advisers mistrusted Dion's desire to take the tyranny for himself from the start, and he was eventually removed from Syracuse to mainland Greece, whence he returned to inflict terrible civil war on the city and eventually succeeded in expelling Dionysius shortly before his own assassination by Callippus. Aristomache's sons Hipparinos and Nysaios then succeeded the overthrown Callippus, only to be expelled in turn by the returning Dionysius II. Again a policy dispute aligned with the amphimetric one: Dion was famously a creature of Plato, and after failing to make a Platonist out of Dionysius II, attempted to impose that philosopher's severe notions of government on the city himself, as if a philosopher-king.⁷⁸ It is interesting that just as later Alexander, having survived allegations of bastardy in an amphimetric context, was to go on to claim to have been sired by Zeus, so Dionysius II now went on to claim to have been 'the product of his mother Doris by her unions with Phoebus Apollo'.⁷⁹

A further Sicilian example of amphimetric strife is to be found in the family of the subsequent tyrant of Syracuse, Agathocles. After his death in 289 a succession dispute broke out between the younger Archagathos, the grandson of Agathocles by his first wife, the widow of Damas (his father, the elder Archagathos, having predeceased the tyrant), and the younger Agathocles, the tyrant's son by his second wife Alcia, to whom Diodorus explicitly refers as the stepmother of the elder Archagathos. The tyrant's attempt to designate the younger Agathocles as his successor came to nought and the ensuing dispute culminated in the deaths of both claimants.⁸⁰

Also worthy of mention here are the circumstances of the death of the tyrant Alexander of Pherae in 358. According to one tradition he was murdered by his wife Thebe and her maternal half-brothers when, because of her barrenness, he proposed marriage to the widow of the former tyrant Jason, his paternal uncle.⁸¹ Now his wife was herself the daughter of Jason.⁸² As Beloch observed, it is probable that the widow whom Alexander courted was not Thebe's own mother, who would probably have been less fertile than Thebe herself, but a younger stepmother of Thebe's (Stähelin identifies Thebe's own mother as a daughter of Lycophron). The murder was therefore motivated by

a superimposed double dose of amphimetric strife: Thebe hated Jason's widow because of the amphimetric relationship she had with her within Jason's family; this was now to be aggravated by the two women being made amphimetric rivals in an additional way as competing wives of Alexander. This episode, in broad terms, anticipates the fall of Lysimachus after he too brought into his own family as amphimetric rivals a pair of women who had already been born into an amphimetric relationship with each other in Ptolemy's family (chapters 3 and 4). It is hardly surprising, under the circumstances, that Alexander should have had himself preceded into his wife's bedroom, as Cicero tells, by a barbarian armed with a drawn sword.⁸³

Notes

¹ As will become clear from what follows, Plutarch almost certainly has half-brothers primarily in mind here. The ancient sources often gloss over the distinction between full and half-siblings: cf., for example, Pausanias 1.10.3 on the 'sisters' Arsinoe II and Lysandra, who were very significantly half-sisters.

² I retain Perrin's Loeb translation (1968) for its fortunate phraseology.

³ Carney 1993, 320–1; see also Fears 1975, 127 and Carney 1987a, 37–8 and 46, 1992, 172 and 178 and Whitehorne 1994, 20.

⁴ Plutarch *Alexander* 39; cf. Heckel 1981, 53.

⁵ For Greek stepmothers and the characteristics ascribed to them, see now Watson 1995, especially 20–91, *pace* whom (209–10), stepmotherly behaviour was far from rare in the hellenistic dynasties.

⁶ See Carney 1987a, especially 42 and 56, 1988, 394–404, Hammond 1989, 32 and 1994, 173, and O'Brien 1992, 12–14 and 17.

⁷ Hesychius s.v. *amphimētōr*; *pace* Sommerstein 1987.

⁸ It has been suggested to me that 'amphimetric' would have been a more direct derivative of *amphimētor*-. True, but 'amphimetric' is more manageable and I have already used it as a technical term for this sort of dispute in Ogden 1996 *passim*, especially 19–21.

⁹ Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 68–71 and 79; cf. Carney 1987a, 39 on this tendency of Beloch. Satyrus' list: F21 Kumaniecki (at Athenaeus 557b–e), discussed below in chapter 1.

¹⁰ Thus Berve 1926 no. 581 s.v. *Olympias* and similarly under other royal wives, Macurdy 1932, 25, Geyer 1938, 2303, Seibert 1967, 4, Hamilton 1969, p. 24 and Green 1974, 515 n. 55, 1982, 138–9 and 1990, 20 and 24 (although 'polygamy' is then conceded to Philip at 119).

¹¹ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 214 and 676–7.

¹² The monogamy fallacy in the context of the hellenistic dynasties in general: Greenwalt 1989, 43, surprisingly, in the light of his views on the Argeads. *Ptolemies*: Vatin 1970, 62 and Whitehorne 1994, 114; contra, Macurdy 1932, 106 and Pomeroy 1984, 13.

Seleucids: Bickerman 1938, 24–5. The principle of monogamy becomes true

only towards the end of this dynasty.

Antigonids: Tarn 1913, 369 n. 4 and 1940, 492, Fine 1934, 102, Dow and Edson 1939, 159 (immediately contradicted!), Meloni 1953, 15 and Le Bohec 1981, 43.

Lysimachus: Geyer 1930a, 29 and Seibert 1967, 93–6.

¹³ For this understanding of Macedonian culture, see Hoffman 1906, Kallérís 1954–76, Dascalakis 1965, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 39–54 and Hammond 1989, 12–15 and 1994, 1–3. For a recent account of the question from what some might consider a ‘politically correct’ perspective, see Borza 1990, 90–7 and 304–6 (the latter pages in the 1992 paperback edition only).

¹⁴ Xenophon *Lac. Pol.* 1.7–10, Polybius 12.6b.8 and Plutarch *Lycurgus* 15.12–13; cf. Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F103z.

¹⁵ As is argued, for instance, by Brosius 1996, 33, 37, 65–6 etc. for the Achaemenids.

¹⁶ Recent scholars to have recognised polygamy and/or the fluidity of legitimacy in Argead Macedon include: Fears 1975, 126, Ellis 1976, 211–17 and 1981, 114–5, Prestianni Giallombardo 1976–7, Levy 1978, 220, Martin 1982, Tronson 1984, 116–26, Unz 1985, Bosworth 1988, 6, Hammond 1989, 32–3 and 1994, 40–1, O’Brien 1992, 40 (but he nonetheless believes in an absolute form of legitimacy), Ellis 1994, 4 and 42 and Whitehorne 1994, 19.

¹⁷ See Carney 1987a, 36–7 and 40 n. 14, 1988a, 386, 1991a, 154–8, 1991b, 19 and 1993, 317.

¹⁸ Greenwalt 1989, 33–4, building on Carney 1987a, 37. For the Merovingians see Stafford 1978, 79–100.

¹⁹ See Goody 1966, 20, 28 and 54 n. 18.

²⁰ Gluckman 1954 and 1963, 116.

²¹ Tarn 1920, 20.

²² Dow and Edson 1937, 162.

²³ Hammond 1994, 171 argues that Philip II was driven to make his match with Cleopatra, a union that threatened to overturn his court with the amphimetric bitterness which it engendered, by the anxiety that he did not have a sufficient number of sons in the two he already had, Arrhidaeus and Alexander, to be sure that one of them would survive himself in the forthcoming Persian campaign. Cf. Carney 1983, 260 for the general susceptibility of Macedonian kings (and princes) to violent death.

²⁴ Strack 1897, 100–4.

²⁵ Bickerman 1938, 14–20 and 24–5.

²⁶ Breccia 1903, 66 and Hopp 1977, 18.

²⁷ Hatzopoulos 1987. Some of the many objections that may be raised to this theory may be found at Greenwalt 1989 especially 21; cf. also Borza 1990, 240, although he perhaps shows the influence of Hatzopoulos in his remarks on primogeniture at 177, 179 and 189.

²⁸ Explicit constitutionalism: e.g. Hopp 1977, 18, Le Bohec 1981, 43 and O’Brien 1992, 39–40. Implicit constitutionalism: Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 180–1 (hellenistic kings took ‘mistresses’ but not ‘wives’ on campaign with them), Tarn 1929 (the Ptolemies did not give the dynastic name to ‘illegitimate’ children), Bevan 1927, 52, Macurdy 1937, 107 and 112, and Seibert 1967, 72

(all arguing that hellenistic kings did not marry 'illegitimate' daughters to each other), and Reymond and Barns 1977, 13 (Ptolemaic 'bastards' were all born of Egyptian princesses).

²⁹ Will 1979–82, ii 376.

³⁰ Errington 1978 and 1983, Borza 1990, 232–41 (although he does entertain the notion of a formal hierarchisation of wives at 206) and Carney 1991a, 158; so too Lock 1977 and Anson 1985; *pace* Mooren 1983 and Adams 1986. See also chapter 1 *ad init.*

³¹ Hatzopoulos 1987, 285; cf. also Borza 1990, 161.

³² Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 138, Macurdy 1937, 72, Meloni 1953, 9 and Le Bohec 1981, 43.

³³ Plato *Gorgias* 471.

³⁴ Mahaffy 1895, 427.

³⁵ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 153–4, Hatzopoulos 1987, 279 and 291–2, Greenwalt 1984, 70–2 and 1989, 29 n. 40 and 37, Carney 1987a, 40 and Hammond 1989, 33 and 1994, 172–3.

³⁶ Plutarch *Alexander* 9 and Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki, *pace* Ellis 1981, 100–10.

³⁷ Cf. the remarks of Carney 1987a, 39.

³⁸ *Genesis* 37.3 (*New English Bible* trans.).

³⁹ Billows 1989 (Antigonos I), Grainger 1990 (Seleucus I), Lund 1992 (Lysimachus), Le Bohec 1993 (Antigonos III), Ellis 1994 (Ptolemy I) and Gabbert 1997 (Antigonos II). Whitehorne 1994 (on the various Cleopatras) should also be mentioned here.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Pomeroy 1984, 3–40 and the numerous works of Carney listed in the bibliography. A stylistically dated but very worthy forerunner of such scholarship is Macurdy 1932 (studying 'woman-power').

⁴¹ See, for example, Reinsberg 1993, Hawley 1993, Henry 1995 and Davidson 1997.

⁴² Préaux 1978, 76–112; cf. also Walbank 1981, 13–28.

⁴³ For discussion see Alonso-Núñez 1987 and Yardley and Develin 1994 (a very welcome new translation) at 1–11, with further bibliography.

⁴⁴ Justin 43.5.11–12.

⁴⁵ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae Aurelianus* 2.1 and *Probus* 2.7.

⁴⁶ Justin 24.3 and 38.8.

⁴⁷ Note the swathe of Argead kings who have fallen out of the sequence at Justin 7.4.3. It seems probable that Ptolemy Memphites has been differentiated into two children at 38.8.12–13 (see chapter 4).

⁴⁸ For Theopompus in general see *FGH* 115 and Shrimpton 1991; see F29 for earlier Macedonian kings.

⁴⁹ See the review of Alexander-sources by Seibert 1972, 1–61.

⁵⁰ See Bosworth 1980–, 1–41 and Stadter 1980, 60–88. For the identifiable fragments of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, see *FGH* 138 and 139.

⁵¹ Cleitarchus: *FGH* 137; for the *Metz Epitome* see Thomas 1966.

⁵² See Hamilton 1969, xiii–lxix.

⁵³ For Hieronymus in general see Hornblower 1981.

⁵⁴ Phylarchus: *FGH* 81.

⁵⁵ For Polybius in general see Walbank 1972 and 1957–79.

⁵⁶ For Livy in general see Walsh 1961 and Briscoe 1973.

⁵⁷ For Josephus in general see Rajak 1983.

⁵⁸ Nicolaus of Damascus: *FGH* 90.

⁵⁹ For Plutarch's *Demetrius* see Manni 1951 and for the *Antony* see Pelling 1988.

⁶⁰ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2–3; Jacoby provides here a German translation of the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. See Mosshammer 1979, 9–83 and 128–68.

⁶¹ See, for example, Green 1990, 732–9.

⁶² Diogenes Laertius 2.26 = Aristotle *On good birth* F93 Rose; cf. Athenaeus 555f–556b.

⁶³ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F11.

⁶⁴ Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 15.20.

⁶⁵ Andocides 1.124–5.

⁶⁶ Cf. Watson 1995, 54–8.

⁶⁷ Demosthenes 39 and 40. This material is discussed in detail at Ogden 1996, 188–94.

⁶⁸ Euripides *Medea* especially 20, 33, 255, 489–91, 1139 and 1363–72.

⁶⁹ Euripides *Andromache* especially lines 122–5, 155–8, 177–80, 198–204, 927–8 and 941–2. See now Belfiore (forthcoming).

⁷⁰ Euripides *Ion* especially lines 607–15, 702–4, 808–11, 836–42, 864–5, 880, 1025, 1269–75, 1295, 1302 and 1328–9.

⁷¹ For the comparability of the structure of tyrannical families with that of the Argead one, see Carney 1993, 316.

⁷² Herodotus 1.61.

⁷³ Herodotus 5.39–42, 72 and 6.75; cf. Forrest 1968, 74–6, 83 and 92. For detailed discussion of these disputes see Ogden 1996, 46 and 253–5.

⁷⁴ Diodorus 14.44.

⁷⁵ Plutarch *Dion* 3 and 6. See also Diodorus 14.44.6–8 and 16.6.2 (where the descriptions of Doris as 'first' and Aristomache as 'second' should not be given weight), Aelian *Varia Historia* 13.10, Athenaeus 6e and Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.60. For the sons of these women see also: Diodorus 16.16.2, Athenaeus 249–50, Plutarch *Moralia* 53–4 and 338b, Aelian *Varia Historia* 6.12 and Tod 1933–48, ii no. 133 lines 19–21. See, above all, Gernet 1981, 279–88; cf. Sanders 1987, 24–5 and 52. Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 102–3 characteristically argued that the tale of the double marriage is false.

⁷⁶ Diodorus 14.44 and 106–7, with Lewis 1994, 147 and 151.

⁷⁷ Nepos 21 (*De regibus*) 2.3.

⁷⁸ Plutarch *Dion* 4, 6–7, 14–15 and 56–7; cf. Lintott 1982, 205–14, with further sources.

⁷⁹ Plutarch *Moralia* 338b; cf. Westlake 1994, 693–706.

⁸⁰ Diodorus 19.3.2, 20.33.5 and 68.3 and 21.16–17. The tyrant took a third wife in Theoxene, daughter of Soter, but her children caused few problems because they were still small at the time of their father's death: Justin 23.2.6. See Beloch 1912–27: iv.2 254–6.

⁸¹ Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.4.35–7; cf. Conon *FGH* 26 F1 for the maternal half brothers.

Argument

⁸² Plutarch *Pelopidas* 28 and 35.

⁸³ Cicero *De officiis* 2.7.25; cf. also Diodorus 16.14.1 and Valerius Maximus 9.13 ext. 3. See Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 82–3, Stähelin 1934 and Westlake 1935, 155–6.

Part I

POLYGAMY AND DEATH
IN THE MACEDONIAN AND
HELLENISTIC COURTS

Chapter 1

ARGEAD MACEDON

The king was the ultimate source of law (*nomos*) in Argead Macedon in matters of both text and interpretation. The law was unwritten, because until the time of Philip II Macedon was a traditional and largely illiterate society.¹ It was the king who appointed judges of the law, and it was the king himself who constituted the supreme court of the law.² As Borza aptly observes, 'The king could do exactly what he could get away with.'³ So when Alexander III was reminded that the king ruled 'not by force but by law' he was dealt a platitude.⁴ On the death of a king Macedon was therefore without a supremely authorised pronouncer and interpreter of the law until the establishment of a new king. In particular, there was no supreme authority to pronounce or interpret rules for dynastic legitimacy and succession.⁵ In this condition of lawlessness, the want of a law by which it might be ended was most keenly felt. While he lived the old king could use a number of means to make his preferred successor known, but his death deprived him of the authority and ability to ratify his choice.⁶ It consequently fell to competitors for the throne to produce whatever constructions of legitimacy best suited themselves and disadvantaged their rivals. The construction of the successful candidate was validated in retrospect. Traces of attempts to bastardise rivals appear frequently in our evidence for Macedonian dynastic disputes. Probably only once the legitimacy argument had been effectively won was a prince in a position to undertake two grand gestures to advertise his title to the throne: the conduct of the funeral of the former king,⁷ and levirate marriage to one of his widows (for which see below).

The audience to these claims and counterclaims about legitimacy will have been either the court and aristocracy or the Macedonian warrior assembly, or both. It is disputed how far the assembly took an active role in selecting a successor and how far it merely ratified the nominee placed before it by the aristocracy. There have been various notions. Some think that the assembly merely formally ratified a successor who was constitutionally determined (a position with which I have very little sympathy, as will already be clear).⁸ Others think that

the assembly did actively choose the successor, albeit in a conservative fashion.⁹ Others think that succession was effectively determined by a court clique.¹⁰ Others again think that there was no fixed constitutional procedure for the selection of the new king, which is my own view.¹¹ After the death of Alexander III, Perdiccas was able to pack a preliminary court synhedrion with his supporters, but their decision in his favour was then partly undermined by the rebarbative assembly.¹² There was probably no categorical difference in the sorts of arguments that could be used before the nobles and the assembly, since Attalus argued that the successor should be of pure Macedonian blood before the nobles (see below on the family of Philip II), whilst Ptolemy used the same argument before the assembly (see below on the family of Alexander III).

We have traces of several bastardy allegations and fraternal disputes within the Argead family. In most cases sets of half brothers can be seen to stand on either side of such allegations or disputes. In other cases nothing obstructs the hypothesis that they did. Such allegations and disputes were, accordingly, the products of ‘amphimetric strife’, the struggles between the different wives of the king and their respective sons to be considered the legitimate line. On the other hand, brothers who can be proved to be full are never seen at variance. Not only is the presence of what might be termed genuine bastards unnecessary for amphimetric strife, but amphimetric strife flourishes because of the absence of a hard and fast legitimacy differentiation. Amphimetric strife can result from situations either of polygamy or of serial monogamy, though the former seems to favour it particularly.

Prior to the family of Alexander I we have no evidence relevant to the subject of dynastic organisation and feuding among the Argeads. I would, however, draw brief attention to the Macedonian foundation myth as narrated by Herodotus.¹³ In this tale the role of the king’s wife in marking Perdiccas [I] out as the new king is significant: the loaves she bakes him grow to the size of a kingly double portion. This might hint that in a fuller version of the tale Perdiccas took on the wife of his predecessor. This might also be suggested by the story’s structural parallelism with another tale, found in variants in Herodotus and Plato, that of Gyges’ usurpation of Candaules, in which Gyges’ assumption of the throne and of the wife of the former king are closely identified.¹⁴ If this were the case, then the dynasty would have had before it a paradigmatic levirate succession, which is of some interest, since levirate succession was made use of at least twice in Argead Macedon, and frequently in the subsequent hellenistic dynasties.

Before our review of the key Argead generations, it will be well to make a preliminary bibliographical point. Our knowledge of Macedon before Philip was transformed beyond recognition by Hammond's work in the second volume of his *History of Macedonia*, published in 1979, which was based upon a breathtaking collation of evidence. Writing on this period will long be in the shadow of this book. Yet Hammond's reconstruction of the Argead dynasty and its peripheral families is repeatedly compromised by hypotheses that are not so much speculative as perverse: the most alarming example of this is the complete invention of 'the family of Menelaus' through the almost entirely arbitrary re-interpretation of plain references to well known princes.¹⁵ In this respect the sources collated by Hammond should be considered separately from his interpretation of them. I make this point emphatically because Hammond's genealogical reconstructions threaten to become orthodoxy: he is, for example, recently followed in most of them by Borza.¹⁶ For a basic and uncontroversial reconstruction of the Argead family it is often necessary to return to Beloch's work of 1912–27¹⁷ and Geyer's work of 1930.¹⁸

The family of Alexander I

<i>Wife X</i>	<i>Wife/wives Y, Z etc.</i>
Perdiccas II	Alcetas
Menelaus?	Philip
Amyntas?	
Stratonice?	

(Note: this scheme is hypothetical, and not based on any directly evidenced relationships.)

The first attested case of a feud between brothers in Argead Macedon is that between sons of Alexander I, who died *c.* 454. We have few details of the dispute and the structure of the family, so we cannot categorically assert that this was an amphimetric dispute. However, such details as we have of it fit well with the pattern of amphimetric disputes that can be discerned in subsequent generations. Perdiccas II (ruled 454–413), who succeeded his father, is shown in not necessarily linked disputes with two brothers, Alcetas and Philip. Plato tells that Perdiccas II deprived his brother Alcetas of the 'rule' (*archē*) that was rightfully his.¹⁹ Perdiccas' succession to Alexander was probably direct because there is no trace either of Alcetas having held a 'rule' in the sense of the throne of Macedon or in the sense of a partitioned principality.²⁰ A scholiast to Aristides, which appears well informed, since it knows the name of the child of Cleopatra killed by Archelaus,

strongly implies that Alcetas spent the entirety of Perdiccas' reign in exile.²¹ Alcetas was at any rate in exile when, after the death of Perdiccas, the latter's son Archelaus lured him back to his death by pretending to restore his 'rule' to him, as Plato explains (see below). Thucydides tells that during his reign Perdiccas was also at variance with his brother Philip, who was in league with his cousin, Derdas, king of the Upper Macedonian principality of Elimeia. Perdiccas drove Philip into exile with the Thracian king Sitalces, who then tried to put him on the throne in Perdiccas' place. Philip seems to have died without achieving anything, for his son Amyntas was subsequently found in his place by Sitalces' side.²² Of course there is nothing here to prove that Perdiccas had an amphimetric relationship either with Alcetas or with Philip. But bastardy allegations did fly between the sons of Alexander: another of his sons, Menelaus, who was grandfather to Philip II, is branded a bastard (*nothos*) by Aelian.²³ A fifth brother, Amyntas, is said by Syncellus to have 'led a non-political life'.²⁴ If we do hypothesise amphimetrism here, we could be dealing with anything between two and five mothers: Alcetas and Philip will have been born of distinct mothers from Perdiccas, but not necessarily both from the same one.²⁵ Menelaus' description as a 'bastard' tells us nothing of his mother's identity, since we do not know whether the allegation arose as part of Perdiccas' successful attack against his opponents, or as part of an unsuccessful attack against Perdiccas and his full-brothers. Was Amyntas quiet because he was simply the loyal cadet full brother of Perdiccas, or because, though of different mother, he preferred royal luxury to exile or death? We might guess at the identity of Philip's mother: since he was cousin to Derdas of Elimeia, she may have been an Elimiote princess. Curtius speaks obscurely of Alexander's death in a manner that seems to imply that he was murdered but went unavenged.²⁶ Perhaps such a murder occurred in the context of these disputes within his family. Nothing is known of the mother of Stratonice, the 'sister' Perdiccas gave in marriage to Seuthes.²⁷

All these brothers except Philip are found, amongst other princes, in a partially preserved list of oath-takers in an Athenian inscription recording a treaty between Athens and Macedon. There is little agreement as to its date, and all points in Perdiccas' reign have been suggested, with 423/2 being the favourite.²⁸ The Macedonians are, in the order listed:

Perdiccas son of Alexander: king
Alcetas son of Alexander: king's brother
Archelaus son of P[erdiccas: king's son ('bastard'?)

X (name lost)

Y (name lost)

Menelaus son of Alexander: king's brother ('bastard?')

Agelaus son of Alcetas ('A[lexander]' will not fit):

king's brother's son

...yrus the son of Alcetas: king's brother's son

IG i³ no. 89 lines 60–1

It is curious that Alcetas should be mentioned in such a text at any point during Perdiccas' reign. Perhaps there was then a temporary reconciliation; given Alcetas' presence, it is possible that the name of Philip, son of Alexander, should be supplied in place of X or Y.²⁹

The family of Perdiccas II

Simiche

Archelaus

Cleopatra

Aeropus

The circumstances of Archelaus' accession to the throne (ruled 413–399) are colourfully described by Plato. Polus sarcastically 'proves' how unhappy the wicked Archelaus was, to mock Socrates' contention that virtue is true happiness:

But how is [Archelaus] not unjust? No part of the rule he now has belonged to him, since he was born of a woman that was a slavewoman of Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and by right he was a slave of Alcetas, and had he wanted to do what was just, he would be a slave to Alcetas and would be happy, according to your argument. But as it is, he has become amazingly miserable, since he has committed the greatest crimes. For first of all he sent for this same man, his master and uncle, under the pretence that he was going to restore to him the rule that Perdiccas had taken off him. He entertained him and got him drunk, together with his son Alexander, his own cousin, and about the same age. He then threw them into a cart, took them out during the night, cut their throats and hid both the bodies. And despite committing these crimes he failed to realise that he had become so miserable, and he did not repent: far from it. He had a brother, the legitimate (*gnēsion*) son of Perdiccas, a boy of about seven years old, to whom the rule belonged according to justice. A little later on he declined to make himself happy by continuing to rear this boy and handing over the rule to him, but instead he threw him down a well and drowned him, and told his mother Cleopatra he had died by falling down it whilst chasing a goose. I conclude, therefore, that he is the most miserable of all the Macedonians, inasmuch as he has committed the greatest crimes of the Macedonians, and not the happiest, and no doubt there are some Athenians who, taking your lead, would prefer to be in the shoes of any other of the Macedonians rather than Archelaus.

Plato *Gorgias* 471a–d³⁰

Archelaus' murder of his uncle Alcetas and cousin Alexander can be seen as a continuation of the hypothesised amphimetric dispute of his father's generation. The amphimetric context of his murder of the son of Cleopatra is much less speculative. Archelaus was the son of a 'slavewoman' (*doulē*). Aelian adds that the slavewoman's name was Simiche, which is, compatibly, a typical name for a slavewoman—all too typical, perhaps.³¹ The brother Archelaus murdered was, by contrast, the son of a Cleopatra, a woman with a good noble Macedonian name.³² A scholiast to Aristides tells that the child was called Alcetas, which may be a confusion with the name of Archelaus' uncle, or *Merōpos*, which probably represents a manuscript error for the common Argead name *Aerōpos*. Elsewhere the scholiast asserts that Archelaus strangled the boy with his own hands.³³ Within this amphimetric dispute the traces of bastardy allegations are clear, both in Plato's description of Archelaus' mother as a slave, and in his implicit bastardisation of Archelaus in his reference to Aeropus as 'legitimate'; the Aristides scholiast openly describes Archelaus as 'bastard' (*nothos*).³⁴

McGlew has argued that Archelaus' portrayal as a bastard may have originated in his own self-presentation, as he sought to appropriate the traditional imagery of a legendary founder figure. He was, after all, the founder of Pella and had Euripides rename Perdiccas/Caranus, the traditional founder of Macedon, 'Archelaus' in his tragedy of that name.³⁵ While I am sympathetic to McGlew's larger project,³⁶ it will become clear that the portrayal of Archelaus as a bastard here is more powerfully understood within the wider system of bastardy-representations of other Argead and hellenistic kings.

In Plato's tale we possibly have the traces of two levirate marriages. Hammond suggests that Simiche is described as Alcetas' slave because she was in reality a wife of Alcetas that Perdiccas married in order to legitimate his position after usurping him.³⁷ This goes some way beyond the evidence, and, as we have seen, it does not appear that Alcetas ever held power. Rather, Plato perhaps describes her persuasively as belonging to Alcetas simply as part of the argument that Alcetas was the rightful king. A better candidate for a levirate succession is found in Archelaus' relationship with Cleopatra, as we shall see in our discussion of the next generation.

The family of Archelaus

Wife X

Amyntas

Elder daughter?

Wife Y

Elder daughter?

Younger daughter?

Cleopatra

Son = Orestes?

Younger daughter?

An amphimetric dispute between the sons of Archelaus (ruled 413–399) during his lifetime is indicated by a passing reference of Aristotle, who tells that Archelaus:

...gave his elder daughter to the king of Elimeia, under constraint of the war against Sirrhas and Arrhabaeus, but the younger one to his son Amyntas,³⁸ in the belief that Amyntas would thus quarrel least with the son by Cleopatra.
Aristotle *Politics* 1311b

Since distinguished Macedonians were normally identified by their fathers, whether these were dead or alive, the ‘son by Cleopatra’ must in this context define a son of Archelaus by her, and entail that she was Archelaus’ wife: we are not dealing with another son of Perdiccas, for example. Since Amyntas is distinguished from ‘the son by Cleopatra’, he must have been born of a different mother. An amphimetric situation and dispute are therefore described. Indeed, the sentence implies that the fundamental cause of the dispute between them was their amphimetric relationship, since the description of Amyntas’ opponent as ‘the son by Cleopatra’ is surely explanatory of the reason for the quarrel. This brief Aristotelian allusion is valuable not simply for the information it provides about one specific dispute, but for the assumption that underlies it: Aristotle’s readership could be expected to understand the nature of the relationship between amphimetric brothers without further elaboration.

Aristotle’s information is important also for giving us an insight into an attempt to resolve an amphimetric dispute. This was to be achieved by the giving of a daughter to one of the disputants. It is unlikely that the daughter given to Amyntas was his full sister: if so, we would have expected Aristotle to comment on it here, however brief his allusion is. The girl was therefore either a daughter of Cleopatra and full-sister to her son, or half-sister to both brothers and the child of a third, unknown mother. If she was Cleopatra’s daughter, then it may have been Archelaus’ purpose to take the heat out of the dispute by binding the two amphimetric lines together by marriage. However, thirteen is the oldest that any daughter (or son) that Archelaus had by Cleopatra can have been at the time of his death in 399, on the assumption that Archelaus married Cleopatra at the start of his reign in 413 (see below). Thirteen would—just—have been a marriageable age in classical Athens, but it has been argued that Macedonian princesses were normally married only in their late teens.³⁹ Pressing need could no doubt have lowered the marriageable age. All the same, it is easier to suppose that the girl married to Amyntas was the child of a third and otherwise unknown union.⁴⁰ Aristotle makes it clear that the younger of

Archelaus' daughters was the only one he had available for his dynastic manipulation, since he had been forced to give the elder one away (we can be fairly sure that she at any rate was not born of the Cleopatra union). Therefore her function may have been to mark out Amyntas as particularly favoured: he was thus granted the opportunity to concentrate the blood of Archelaus in his own offspring. In this case Archelaus may have been marking out Amyntas as preferred successor, and attempting to end the dispute by a final assertion of preference. It is, I suppose, conceivable that it was the son of Cleopatra that was favoured, and that Amyntas got the girl as a consolation prize, but the progression of the sentence and the fact that Amyntas is named support the former option. An apt analogy has been drawn between this episode and Dionysius I of Syracuse's marking out of his son Dionysius II as his heir by marrying a half-sister to him.⁴¹ The hypothesis becomes more plausible still when we bear in mind that Amyntas was apparently of marriageable age, and therefore perhaps twenty years old,⁴² while the son of Cleopatra was almost certainly no more than 13. Amyntas, the established, adult son, was being bribed to keep his hands off the boy prince, whom he feared constituted a challenge to his prospects of succession.

In attempting to weave together the amphimetric strands of his own family, Archelaus was perhaps repeating something he had already attempted with his father's family. His wife Cleopatra is surely to be identified with the Cleopatra who was wife of his father Perdiccas II and mother of the Aeropus he killed. Archelaus will thus have taken on a levirate marriage.⁴³ Such an assumption explains why Plato should have given us the otherwise hanging detail that Archelaus told Cleopatra that Aeropus had fallen down a well chasing a goose: Archelaus had to have a good story for her not because she was the boy's mother but because she was his own wife. Since Cleopatra was the mother of a seven-year-old son by Perdiccas, Perdiccas had doubtless married her late in his reign and left her a young widow. She had thus constituted the type of wife that was particularly threatening to the established adult sons of her rivals, as can be seen in the cases of Philip II's late-married Cleopatra, Lysimachus' late-married Arsinoe and Seleucus I's Stratonice. For Archelaus marrying Cleopatra was therefore a useful way not only of legitimating his claim to the throne, but also of neutralising one amphimetric enemy, the woman herself, and bringing another, her son Aeropus, into the household where he was accessible to murder. The meagre fragments of information that we possess concerning Archelaus' dynastic arrangements suggest that he was in

this, as in many things, one of the more creative Argead kings.

Whatever Archelaus had planned, Diodorus tells that he was directly succeeded, after his assassination in 399, by a child called Orestes, who was in turn slain by his regent, one Aeropus, whose relationship with the rest of the Argead family is unknown.⁴⁴ Orestes may have been 'the son by Cleopatra'. After four years Aeropus was replaced by Amyntas the Little, who may well have been Archelaus' son, and who ruled for a year before being thrown out by the Macedonians.⁴⁵

The family of Amyntas III

<i>Wife X?</i>	<i>Eurydice</i>	<i>Gygaea</i>
Ptolemy of Alorus?	Alexander II	Archelaus
	Perdiccas III	Arrhidaeus
	Philip II	Menelaus
	Eurynoe	

There were probably slurs against the parentage of Amyntas III, who came to the throne in 393/2 and ruled until 370. Although official inscriptions give him an Arrhidaeus as father,⁴⁶ Justin and Aelian make him the son of the bastard Menelaus,⁴⁷ and the latter also says that he was a slave or servant (*hypēretēs*) of Aeropus. We cannot put these claims into any secure context. The Arrhidaeus/Menelaus variation may cover an official adoption, or it may be that the Menelaus claim represents an allegation of adulterine bastardy against the ostensible son of Arrhidaeus. Aelian's description of Amyntas as the slave of Aeropus resembles his jibe that Archelaus was the slave of Alcetas, made in the previous sentence.⁴⁸ The originator of such claims may well have been the usurper Argaeus, who interrupted Amyntas' reign, almost certainly only once, in either 393 or 387–5. Nothing is known of his provenance, although his name is compatible with Argead pedigree.⁴⁹

We are on much firmer ground with Amyntas' own family. He had two known wives. Justin lists their children: by Eurydice he had three sons who were all to reach the throne, Alexander II, Perdiccas III and Philip II, and a daughter who is probably called *Euryone* by a manuscript error for *Eurynoe*; by Gygaea he had three more sons, Archelaus, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus.⁵⁰ No evidence permits us to say which of these wives was married first. Gygaea is sometimes considered to have been the first on the grounds that Eurydice was apparently ensconced at the end of Amyntas' reign.⁵¹ But this argument is only valid if we assume, as we may not, that Amyntas practised serial monogamy.

We know nothing of the provenance of Gygaea. The name Gygaea is a traditional Macedonian one,⁵² but, as we shall see, Argead wives

could be renamed. The provenance of Eurydice is subject to great debate. One fixed point is that Eurydice was the daughter of Sirrhas, as we are told by a newly discovered inscription which has put an end to a long debate about the reading of his name in the manuscripts of Strabo.⁵³ Who was Sirrhas? Aristotle's reference to him, quoted above, is not specific. All the sources that give Eurydice an ethnic make her Illyrian, but they do not inspire confidence because they are openly abusive:

Illyrian and barbarian three times over.

Plutarch *Moralia* 14b

Amyntas the father of Philip married Eurydice the Illyrian and got children from her, Alexander, Perdikkas and Philip, (all of) whom some say Eurydice acquired supposititiously.

Suda s.v. *Karanos*⁵⁴

A context for a marriage alliance with Illyria early in Amyntas' reign can, however, be found, and many consequently accept that Eurydice was Illyrian.⁵⁵ If Eurydice were indeed Illyrian, the attempt to bastardise Alexander III as the son of an Epirote, before Philip, the son of an Illyrian, would have been extremely tactless.

But Eurydice must be Macedonian. Some have felt that her father Sirrhas was a prince of Upper Macedonia in view of his association with the Lyncestid prince Arrhabaeus in the Aristotle passage. But there is no agreement as to the principality from which Sirrhas and his daughter hailed. Arguments have been made for both Elimeia⁵⁶ and Orestis,⁵⁷ but Lyncestis tends to be the most favoured one.⁵⁸ Strabo does after all mention Sirrhas and Eurydice in the context of an excursus on Lyncestid genealogy.⁵⁹ And if Sirrhas was Lyncestid, then he would have constituted an appropriately close associate for Arrhabaeus. The Lyncestids in turn had close associations with the Illyrians,⁶⁰ and so the misrepresentation of a princess of this household as an Illyrian might have been particularly appropriate.

We cannot take much confirmation of the hypothesis that Eurydice was Upper Macedonian from her name, even though it is a good Graeco-Macedonian one and though it became common in the Argead dynasty. This is again because of the renaming phenomenon and also because of the fact that this woman is the first one known to have borne the name in Macedon. We should take warning from the fact that Philip II appears to have renamed his *Illyrian* wife Audata Eurydice.⁶¹ It has been argued that the name of Eurydice's father Sirrhas, for all its unfamiliarity, may also be Graeco-Macedonian, since it is found in a Macedonian inscription, albeit one of considerably later date.⁶²

But the most compelling evidence that Eurydice is some sort of

Upper Macedonian is the *Suda*'s assertion that Alexander's general Leonnatus was 'a relative of Philip's mother by descent'.⁶³ There is no doubt that Leonnatus was Macedonian. Curtius tells that he was born of royal stock,⁶⁴ but this stock cannot have been Argead, because in this case it would have been nonsense for the *Suda* to describe Leonnatus as related to Philip's mother rather than to Philip himself or indeed Alexander. He must therefore have been a scion of one of the Upper Macedonian houses, as, by consequence, must Eurydice. Guesses as to which particular house Leonnatus belonged to have followed previous insecure assumptions as to which house Eurydice and Sirrhas belonged to. His citizenship of Pella (if he was a citizen of the city rather than merely resident in it) was presumably extraordinary.⁶⁵

The portrayal of Eurydice as Illyrian in the sources thus becomes particularly interesting. It almost certainly derives from an attempt to bastardise her offspring as born of an alien mother. The abusive context of the portrayal lends support to this supposition, and renders it unlikely that Eurydice acquired her representation as an Illyrian in the sources as a result of their confusing her with the genuinely Illyrian wife of Philip, Audata/Eurydice. This trace of attempted bastardisation lines up nicely with the accusation that her children were supposititious (i.e. changelings), which aims at the same goal by different means. This allegation is already found in Demosthenes, who calls Philip 'slave or supposititious', and was recounted by Libanius and, as we have seen, the *Suda*.⁶⁶ Demosthenes had his own reasons for denigrating Philip in any way possible, and the colourful historian Theopompus, who seems to have held bizarrely contradictory attitudes towards the Macedonian dynasty, may also have enjoyed recycling such tales,⁶⁷ but their ultimate origin is likely to have been an amphimetric dispute within Macedon itself between the line of Eurydice and the line of Gygaea. It is possible that the 'pretenders' Ptolemy of Alorus, Pausanias and Argaeus also promoted such propaganda. Demosthenes may not have been the only Athenian to capitalise upon them: in 338 or thereabouts the Athenians dedicated a statue of Philip at Kynosarges, the city's symbolic home for bastards.⁶⁸

The amphimetric dispute between the lines of Gygaea and Eurydice came to a graphic head after Philip's accession:

After this he [Philip] attacked the Olynthians [in 349], for they had for pity taken in two of Philip's brothers after his murder of a third, and Philip was eager to kill them, since they were born from his stepmother (*noverca*),⁶⁹ as if they held a share of his kingdom. Justin 8.3.10

It is clear that Justin has in mind here the three amphimetric brothers

of Philip he has earlier listed as the sons of Gygaea. The first brother to be killed appears to have been Archelaus, according to the usual emendation of a fragment of Theopompus.⁷⁰

A difficult knot of problems surrounds the figure of Ptolemy of Alorus, who allegedly seduced Eurydice and plotted with her against Amyntas during his reign. After Amyntas' death he appears to have become regent for Amyntas' eldest son by Eurydice, Alexander II, who acceded in 368, before murdering him a year later in 367, according to the short but pointed references of Marsyas of Macedon, Diodorus and a scholiast to Aeschines.⁷¹ He then apparently became regent for Eurydice's second son, Perdiccas III, who in turn killed him in revenge for his brother and became king in his own right in 365.⁷² The most colourful account is—as often—that of Justin, who, in contrast to the sources just named, strongly emphasises the role of Eurydice herself:

[Amyntas] would also have been made away with by the plots of his wife Eurydice, who had agreed to marry her son-in-law [Ptolemy of Alorus] and had undertaken the murder of her husband and the transfer of the kingdom to her adulterous lover, had not her daughter [Eurynoe] betrayed the mother that was her rival in bed, and her wicked plans. Having survived so many dangers Amyntas died of old age, handing over his kingdom to Alexander, the eldest of his sons... Not long after this Alexander succumbed to the plots of his mother Eurydice, whom Amyntas had spared when caught in her wickedness, on account of the children they had between them.

Justin 7.4.7–8 and 7.5.4–7

Who was Ptolemy of Alorus? The ethnic is odd, and we might take this together with Syncellus' rather vague description of him as 'different/alien in descent' (*allotrios tou genous*)⁷³ to indicate that he was an outsider to the Argead family. However, Diodorus' claim that he was the son of Amyntas III and brother to Alexander II and Perdiccas III should be taken seriously: if this assertion is an error on Diodorus' part, it is not a casual one, since the information is given twice in different contexts.⁷⁴ Of course Ptolemy was in any case the *brother-in-law* of Alexander II and Perdiccas III, by virtue of his marriage to Eurynoe, but it is unlikely that this gave rise to a misunderstanding: the terms 'brother' and 'brother-in-law' are linguistically and conceptually closer in English than they were in ancient Greek. If Ptolemy was the son of Amyntas and brother to Alexander and Perdiccas, then he was surely their amphimetric half-brother, since Justin does not include him among the sons of Eurydice, and since he married Eurynoe who would thus have been his full sister, and had an affair with and married Eurydice, who would thus have been his own

mother. It is unlikely that, if he had made such unions, our sources could have forborne to mention it. Ptolemy's murder of Alexander can in this case be seen as a further example of amphimetric strife, and Perdiccas' subsequent revenge killing of Ptolemy can in turn be seen as another blow in the same battle. In this case Syncellus' vague description of Ptolemy, if neutral in tone, may have been intended to indicate that he was born of a different mother from Alexander, Perdiccas and Philip (the words seem to support a meaning of this kind as well as any other). If it is abusive in tone it may be a trace of a bastardy allegation against him. His marriage to Eurynoe may have had a conciliatory purpose, just as we argued the marriage of Archelaus' son Amyntas to his sister to have had. Since Ptolemy acted as regent for Alexander II and Perdiccas III he was evidently, like Archelaus' son Amyntas, an elder son. He may have been the same Ptolemy as the one mentioned in the problematic list of oath-takers (mentioned above) in the inscription recording an alliance between Amyntas and Athens in 375 or 373.⁷⁵ Hammond's notion that Ptolemy was rather the son of Amyntas II ('the Little'), built upon the assumption that Diodorus misidentified the Amyntas in his source, is arbitrary, but has been influential.⁷⁶

What are we to make of Eurydice's role in all this? Much depends upon whether we broadly follow Justin's negative view of her, or Aeschines' very positive one. If she did indeed welcome Ptolemy's attention during Amyntas' lifetime, as Justin claims, even to the extent of hatching a plot against the king's life, then her purpose could have been similar to that of Arsinoe II in her attempt to seduce Agathocles (see chapter 3). Since Eurydice's children were relatively young, she may have feared that her amphimetric rival Ptolemy was in a stronger position to seize power in the event of her husband's death. By marrying him she would at least secure her own future, albeit at the possible expense of her existing children. However, Justin is generally suspect in his attitude to Eurydice and his narration of her actions, since his claim that she was responsible for the death of Perdiccas cannot stand:⁷⁷ Diodorus makes it clear that he died in battle against the Illyrians in 359 (or 360).⁷⁸

But another interpretation, suggested in part by the very positive, if not actually apologetic, picture of Eurydice painted by Aeschines, is preferable, even though not all his details can be true.⁷⁹ This interpretation sees Justin's retrojection of the relationship between Ptolemy and Eurydice into the lifetime of Amyntas as a fanciful embellishment. On seizing power Ptolemy married Eurydice, with or without her consent, in order to give levirate legitimation to his position. The

murder of his amphimetric rival Alexander followed naturally, and, *pace* Justin, unabatted by his mother. One enigmatic phrase in Aeschines' discussion may suggest that Ptolemy's murder of Alexander was accomplished in despite of her: 'Their mother Eurydice was betrayed by those who had appeared to be her friends.'⁸⁰ If this reconstruction is correct, then the sequence of events involving Ptolemy, Eurydice and her son mirrors closely those involving Archelaus, Cleopatra and her son by Perdiccas.

Ptolemy was apparently himself slightly compromised by amphimetric strife within his own 'family', since, according to Justin, it was the jealousy of his first wife, Eurynoe, Eurydice's daughter, towards her mother and 'rival in bed' that thwarted his initial plot against Amyntas.

Whatever our attitude towards Eurydice and her works,⁸¹ Mortensen has made the highly plausible suggestion that Justin's negative portrayal of her may stem in part from her dispute with Gygaea and her sons.⁸² A Vergina tomb discovered by Andronikos in 1987 has been assigned to Eurydice.⁸³

As we have seen, by marked contrast with amphimetric siblings, full brothers normally exhibit solidarity among themselves. The sons of Eurydice do indeed seem to have co-operated well. Not only did Perdiccas avenge Alexander's death, but as soon as he had overthrown Ptolemy he secured the return of his hostage-brother Philip from Thebes.⁸⁴ Carystius of Pergamum claimed that the Platonist Euphraeus of Oreus persuaded Perdiccas to cut off a part of his territory to give to Philip.⁸⁵ Speculation about a personality clash between the 'philosopher' and the 'soldier' seems to me idle; certainly nothing can be inferred from Speusippus' supposed reference to Plato being upset if anything 'uncivilised or unbrotherly' happened between the two brothers.⁸⁶ There is no need to suppose that Philip offended the memory of Perdiccas by 'defrauding' his infant son Amyntas ('IV') of the throne; it is now believed that Philip was appointed directly to the kingship, and was not first made regent for the boy.⁸⁷ Rather, Philip's friendliness to Perdiccas can be gauged from the fact that Amyntas was permitted to live and indeed honoured with the gift of a daughter in marriage by Philip, Cynane, whose mother was Audata.⁸⁸ If Philip's action towards Amyntas is to be considered disloyal, then we can just about squeeze it into our theoretical model by noting that, as nephew, Amyntas did not share Philip's mother. Amyntas was eventually killed by Alexander after the death of Philip, because, according to Plutarch, Macedon was festering and looking to him for leadership.⁸⁹

The family of Philip II

1. *Audata/Eurydice*

Cynna/Cynane

2. *Phila*3. *Nicesipolis*

Thessalonice

4. *Philinna*

Arrhidaeus

5. *Olympias*

Alexander III

Cleopatra

6. *Meda*7. *Cleopatra*

Europa

Unnamed wife

Caranus?

(Note: the numbering of the wives reflects the order in which Satyrus says they were married, and not rank. He implies that the two Thessalian wives, Nicesipolis and Philinna, were married more or less at the same time.)

Our evidence becomes fuller for the marital career of Philip, who came to the throne in 359 (or 360). It reveals clearly that he was concurrently polygamous and that there were no absolute status-distinctions between his many wives and the children he had of them. It also permits closer analysis of another graphic, amphimetrically determined legitimacy dispute. We owe much to an important fragment of Satyrus, preserved in Athenaeus:

Philip of Macedon did not take his women to war with him, in the way that Darius [III], the one who was overthrown by Alexander [III], did. Darius, even though he was fighting for the whole of his empire, used to take round with himself three hundred and sixty concubines, as Dicaearchus relates in his third book on the *Life of Greece*.⁹⁰ Philip rather always used to make his marriages (*egamei*) in accordance with war. At any rate, 'In the twenty-two years in which he was king,' as Satyrus says in his book about his life, 'having married (*gēmas*) Audata the Illyrian [in 358?] he got from her a daughter Cynna. He married (*egēmen*) also Phila [in 358?], the sister of Derdas and Machatas. Wanting to bring into his camp the Thessalian people he made children (*epaidopoiēsato*) from two Thessalian women/wives (*gynaikōn*) [married in 358/7], of which the one was Nicesipolis of Pherae, who produced Thessalonice for him, and the other Philinna of Larissa, by whom he sired Arrhidaeus. And he brought over to himself also the kingdom of the Molossians when he married (*gēmas*) Olympias [in 357], from whom he got Alexander and Cleopatra. And when he took Thrace, Cothelas the king of the Thracians came to him with his daughter Meda and many gifts [in 339]. Marrying (*gēmas*) her too he brought her into his house on top of (*epēisēgagen*) Olympias. On top of all these he married (*egēme*) Cleopatra the sister of Hippostratus and niece of Attalus [in 337].⁹¹ And in bringing her into his household on top of (*epēisagōn*) Olympias he threw his whole life into turmoil. For immediately, at the very marriage (*gamois*) Attalus said, 'So now legitimate (*gnēsioi*) kings and not bastard (*nothoi*) ones will be produced.'

And when Alexander heard this he threw his cup at Attalus, and then Attalus threw his vessel at Alexander. And after this Olympias fled to the Molossians, and Alexander to the Illyrians. And Cleopatra produced for Philip the daughter called Europa.

Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki, at Athenaeus 557b–e⁹²

This fragment of Satyrus has in the past been treated in a very inappropriate and high-handed fashion. Beloch's certainty that Philip could only have been monogamous led him to assign arbitrarily the statuses of 'wives' or 'concubines' ('Nebenfrauen') to these women, with only Phila, Olympias and Audata making it into the privileged category. His attempt to make the women dance around each other in orderly fashion also led him arbitrarily to reorder Satyrus' relative chronology.⁹³ In all this he was extremely influential.⁹⁴

However, it is clear from his phraseology that Satyrus lists the wives in the order in which he thinks they were acquired, and that he thinks that new wives were brought in additionally to, and held concurrently with, previous ones: this is proved by his use of the verbs *epeisēgagen* and *epeisagōn*, denoting that he acquired the women on top of each other, in conjunction with the repeated use of the verb *gameō*.⁹⁵ We might also take the extreme brevity of the intervals between the marriages to the earlier wives as evidence that they were being married polygamously rather than serially. Athenaeus clearly thought that Satyrus was talking about polygamy because he quotes the passage in the context of a discussion on the subject. The unions listed must all have been formal marriages, for their purpose was diplomatic: there is no such thing as diplomatic concubinage. Indeed the diplomatic function of these marriages militates against other varieties of initial hierarchisation of them,⁹⁶ such as Green's branding of some of Philip's marriages as 'morganatic'.⁹⁷ For Philip to have deliberately avoided fathering children by, or rearing them from, these women or for him to have reared such children under the title of 'bastard' would have been to insult the in-laws it was his design to conciliate: witness the effects of Pisistratus' refusal to father children by the daughter of Megacles (see Argument). Nor does Satyrus himself give us any reason to suppose that there was any formal hierarchisation between the women: they were all wives alike, not a mixture of wives and concubines.⁹⁸ The variation in the verbs applied to the women, *gamein*, 'marry', applied to Audata, Phila, Olympias, Meda, and Cleopatra, and *paidopoieisthai ek*, which literally means only 'make children from', applied to the Thessalians Nicesipolis and Philinna, has been argued by some to mark a distinction in status between the different women

and their children.⁹⁹ But in fact it is used merely for stylistic variation (*gamein* appears five times in the list as it is), and to make the point that whereas the preceding union with Phila was fruitless, the unions with the Thessalians produced children.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, it appears that despite its literal meaning, *paidopoieisthai ek* may have had the connotation of the production of children legitimately within marriage: it seems to have borne this connotation at any rate in classical Athenian legal terminology.¹⁰¹ It is particularly significant that weddings are attested for some of the women: Plutarch and Justin speak of Olympias' wedding;¹⁰² Plutarch and Satyrus of Cleopatra's;¹⁰³ in the fragment quoted Satyrus clearly describes the formal transfer of Meda as a bride (*ekdosis*) accompanied by a generous dowry, and her wedding is mentioned also by Jordanes (where the bride's name is given as Medopa).¹⁰⁴ The attestation of a wedding for Meda is particularly important, since she of all Philip's wives might have been thought to have the smallest claim to status—by those who seek to hierarchise the women.

Nor can we sneak in legitimacy differentiations of another sort by making one of the women 'queen' in distinction to the others. Such a distinction is often made to the benefit of Olympias,¹⁰⁵ but all the significant references to Olympias in our sources are explicable as consequent merely upon her role as queen-mother after Alexander's accession.¹⁰⁶ In any case, it has been argued that there was no word in active use for 'queen' in Argead Macedon, with words of the *basilissa* type being found applied to women only in the hellenistic world after 306, the 'Year of the Kings'.¹⁰⁷ The king may have preferred one wife to another at various stages, and such preference may often have been related to the children that they produced, but such preference was essentially fluid.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that Satyrus omitted from this list a son of Philip, Caranus (for whom see below), but there is no reason to think that this was because he considered the child 'illegitimate' in contrast to those whom he does mention.

Although it has been doubted in the past, Satyrus is now believed to be correct about the order in which Philip married his wives.¹⁰⁹ In so far as doubts linger, they attach to Nicesipolis, who is often believed to have been married not in 357, alongside Philinna, but in 352, and therefore subsequently to the marriage to Olympias in 356.¹¹⁰ But why should Satyrus deliberately cite one wife out of order? One could understand him bracketing together his references to the two Thessalian women as a shorthand, but Nicesipolis is mentioned before Philinna, so that we should expect Philinna to be the one out of sequence, if either of them was. Also, the rhetoric of the passage clearly

suggests that it is Satyrus' intention to extend the listing of wives as far as possible, rather than to accomplish it concisely. There is no good reason to suggest that Satyrus' list of wives is incomplete. Hammond's argument, that Philip must have married a daughter of the Scythian king Atheas in 339 because the latter adopted him, is weak. We cannot assume that Scythian practice in adoption mimicked classical Athenian. Philip gained nothing from marrying the daughter of this defeated and killed enemy. It is doubtful whether Atheas, who was 90 at this time, would have had in hand any daughters still of marriageable age.¹¹¹

Plutarch also clearly portrays a situation of polygamy, in his more detailed account of the dispute between the lines of Olympias and Cleopatra:

Because of [Philip's] marriages and love affairs the kingship was sick in its women's quarters,¹¹² and the upheavals in his household provided many occasions for dispute, and caused heated arguments. These were magnified by the difficult personality of Olympias, an envious and sullen woman, who spurred Alexander on. Attalus occasioned the most public of these disputes at the marriage of Cleopatra. Philip was taking the girl in marriage, after falling in love with her in a fashion that did not fit his age. Attalus had become drunk at the party and invited the Macedonians to request from the gods that a legitimate successor (*gnēsion...diadochon*) to the kingship should be born from Philip and Cleopatra. Alexander was provoked by this and said, 'Do you consider me to be a bastard (*nothos*), evil-head?' Then he threw his cup at him. Then Philip drew his sword and rose up against him. It was lucky for both of them that Philip slipped and fell over because of his anger and his wine. Alexander crowed over him and said: 'This fellow, men, was preparing to cross to Asia from Europe, but he has come undone in his attempt to cross from one couch to the next.' After this drunken episode Alexander collected Olympias and set her up in Epirus, whilst he himself spent some time among the Illyrians.¹¹³

Plutarch *Alexander* 9

Here Olympias and Cleopatra are both shown to be wives and established at court at the same time, and indeed it is Plutarch's purpose to display the rivalry that arises specifically from a situation of polygamy. Justin thinks that Olympias was repudiated by Philip, but even so clearly believes that this repudiation occurred after and not prior to the marriage to Cleopatra.¹¹⁴ Plutarch elsewhere mentions that Philip and Olympias were subsequently reconciled.¹¹⁵

In both the passages quoted Attalus, the uncle and champion of the bride Cleopatra, is shown graphically accusing Alexander of bastardy at the wedding breakfast. His personal interest and that of his niece in making the accusation are clear. The tale firmly locates bastardy accusations against the princes in Macedon itself, and they cannot be

seen as the result of any 'Greek' misunderstanding of a Macedonian institution.¹¹⁶ One can well understand why Alexander should subsequently have executed Attalus for speaking like this.¹¹⁷ Indeed according to Justin he executed all Cleopatra's relatives.¹¹⁸ The same author tells that it was Olympias' special pleasure to butcher Cleopatra's daughter in her lap, before forcing the mother into a noose and exhibiting her body.¹¹⁹ Pausanias, however, tells that Olympias roasted Cleopatra and her child to death on (sic) a bronze oven.¹²⁰ The murder of Europa addressed satisfaction; that of Cleopatra was also precautionary, lest she had begun to carry a male child.

What did Attalus mean? There has been no shortage of explanations: Hatzopoulos thought he meant that Alexander was not 'born in the purple'; his theory is untenable, as Greenwalt has shown.¹²¹ Giallombardo argued that Attalus was conceding that Alexander was a legitimate son, but denying all the same that he was legitimate *successor*. In making this argument she places a great deal of weight on Plutarch's phrase *gnēsion...diadochon*. But the application of either *gnēsios*, 'legitimate' or *nothos*, 'bastard' to entitlement to office would be quite unparalleled in Greek.¹²² Others have speculated that Attalus was attempting to portray Alexander as an adulterine bastard.¹²³ This interpretation appears to be based upon Justin's claim that Philip divorced Olympias for adultery (*stuprum*) with Zeus in the form of a snake.¹²⁴ None of these scholars gives consideration to the fact that Attalus, in asserting that only children born of Cleopatra would be legitimate, bastardised not only Alexander but Arrhidaeus too, although admittedly he presumably saw Alexander and Olympias as the primary threats.

Satyrus and Plutarch locate the allegation firmly in the context of the rivalry between Olympias and Cleopatra, and the allegation must therefore have focused upon their relative statuses (and that too of Arrhidaeus' mother, Philinna). Attalus' case was almost certainly that the children born of the Epirote Olympias and the Thessalian Philinna were illegitimate as being born of alien, non-Macedonian, mothers; to use the Greek term, they were *mētroxenoí*. This was a familiar type of illegitimacy in classical Athens where, after Pericles' citizenship law in 451, one had to be born of two (married) Athenian citizen parents to be considered legitimate in the eyes of the state.¹²⁵ A number of scholars, including Greenwalt, take the view that this was the point of Attalus' allegation.¹²⁶ There is no doubt that Attalus and Cleopatra were good Macedonians, although it is not certain from what part of Macedon they actually hailed: the only Attalus to whom a provenance

can be positively assigned came from Tymphaea in Lower Macedon.¹²⁷ Perhaps Philip could himself entertain the idea of a metroxenic kind of bastardy. In the course of the Pixodarus affair he was to scold Alexander for his eagerness to become son-in-law to a 'Carian and a slave to the barbarian king' (the passage is quoted below). Despite this reproof, Alexander was to continue his predilection for oriental matches. No rational defence of Alexander's position in the Attalus incident is recounted. Had he wanted one, an argument from his mother's superior status to Cleopatra's lay ready to hand: Olympias was a princess of Epirus, Cleopatra a mere noblewoman of Macedon.¹²⁸

The tale tightly associates the lot of the prince Alexander and that of his mother. This much is made explicitly clear by Arrian's reference to the episode also: he tells that Alexander became suspicious towards Philip when he married Cleopatra (whom he calls Eurydice: see below) and 'dishonoured' (*ētimase*) his mother Olympias.¹²⁹ Plutarch also portrayed Alexander as complaining to Philip when he sired children from wives other than Olympias, with Philip's pointed response:

Learning that Alexander was reproaching him because he was producing children by several women, he said, 'So, since you have many competitors for the kingship, make sure that you are good and fine, so that you don't acquire the kingship through me but through yourself.'

Plutarch *Moralia* 178e (*Sayings of Philip* 22)¹³⁰

We recall again Plutarch's observation that for Alexander one tear from Olympias could wipe out 10,000 letters of complaint against her.¹³¹ Many scholars have commented on the tightness of the bond between Alexander and his mother—which is of course to demote the bond between Alexander and his father.¹³² A relatively loose bond here may perhaps be detected in Alexander's alleged assertion that he considered himself closer to his tutor Aristotle than to Philip.¹³³ Alexander's only full sister Cleopatra was also included in this special bond with him and Olympias.¹³⁴

It may be that Philip renamed his *wife* Cleopatra 'Eurydice' on marriage: this is the name she is given by Arrian in a passing reference.¹³⁵ There is some evidence for other royal women either being renamed or at any rate enjoying plural names, and the name Eurydice, which is of course first found attached to Philip's mother (it is her only known name), is involved more than once.¹³⁶ Thus, Audata, Philip's first wife, is also referred to as Eurydice by Arrian.¹³⁷ Arrian further tells that Adea, the daughter of Amyntas ('IV') the son of Perdiccas (Philip's supposed ward) and of Cynane, Philip's daughter by the same Audata, took on the name Eurydice at the point of her

marriage to Philip Arrhidaeus.¹³⁸ Olympias had, as Plutarch tells, no less than four names, of which Eurydice, curiously, is not one: Polyxena, Myrtale, Olympias and Stratonice.¹³⁹ Heckel suggests that these names can be co-ordinated with the different stages of her life:¹⁴⁰ Polyxena was her birth name (a name suitable enough for a princess of the Molossian royal house that derived itself from the grandson of Achilles); she became Myrtale ('myrtle') when as a girl she developed her famed interest in orgiastic cults; she became Olympias when she produced a son (Alexander) for Philip in conjunction with his victory at the Olympic games in 356;¹⁴¹ and she took on the name Stratonice ('army-victory') in 316 to commemorate her victory over Adea-Eurydice. Another example of women changing their names upon marriage to Argead kings is that of Darius' daughter Barsine, who apparently became Stateira on her marriage to Alexander.¹⁴²

What are we to make of all this? A hypothesis ready to hand is that the name Eurydice was a particularly honorific one that marked out its bearer as enjoying a special status.¹⁴³ Carney indeed argues that the name 'Eurydice' denoted the 'queen' in Macedon before the adoption of the term *basilissa* after 306.¹⁴⁴ The difficulties with this hypothesis are clear: Olympias above all is the wife of Philip that scholars are anxious to represent as queen, yet we can be sure from Plutarch's scholarship that, despite her readiness to change her name, Eurydice was one name that she did not bear. It is a difficulty too that Audata is one of the weaker candidates for 'queenship' among Philip's wives.

I suggest rather that we look again to the Argead penchant for the levirate gesture on accession. Philip II renamed his first wife, Audata, whom he took soon after his accession, after his mother, and, more significantly, his father's wife, as a means of expressing his succession to his father. Perhaps Amyntas left behind him no suitable younger wife for Philip to take up. If one was then to use a new woman to stand in for a wife of the dead king, what more legitimating name could one give her than that of one's own mother (even if such a renaming did appear in some respects almost incestuous)? It is curious that Philip should have renamed a second of his wives Eurydice too, and it has been sensibly speculated that Audata-Eurydice had died before Cleopatra was given the name.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps Cleopatra then took up the job of symbolically connecting Philip to his father's power. Adea may have been renamed Eurydice (or, under the circumstances, may have renamed herself Eurydice) because of the impact made by Philip II in marital culture as well as all other Macedonian matters. We should not forget that Eurydice had also been the additional name taken on by

her own maternal grandmother, Audata. At this stage alone, perhaps, one might speak of Eurydice as a 'dynastic' name. The husband she married, Arrhidaeus, had himself taken the throne-name of Philip (III) upon his proclamation as king at Babylon.¹⁴⁶ A levirate solution will also be offered for the name-change of Alexander's Barsine to Stateira (chapter 2).

The renaming of Philip's wife Cleopatra as Eurydice should not therefore be taken to indicate that special honour was being placed on her: no more honour was placed on her than had been so placed upon Audata before her. The naming of a wife 'Eurydice' had more to do with Philip's projection of himself than with his projection of his wife.

Perhaps a greater source of worry for Alexander and Olympias than Cleopatra's status, original or bestowed, was the fact that since Philip was still only around 45 at the time of the marriage, any male children promptly produced by her would have the opportunity to approach adulthood before Philip reached his natural span.¹⁴⁷

The bitterness that the marriage engendered in Olympias and Alexander, and the principle that sons felt greater loyalty to their mothers than to their fathers, are well illustrated by the claim of Plutarch and Justin that Pausanias, the assassin of Philip, was set to his task by Olympias with the agreement of Alexander, and ordered to kill Cleopatra and Attalus besides:

Olympias would also have drawn her brother Alexander, the king of Epirus, into war, had not Philip won him over first with marriage to his daughter.¹⁴⁸ Both Olympias and [her son] Alexander are believed to have been roused to anger by this, and to have spurred on Pausanias, who was complaining about the fact that his rape had gone unpunished, to such a great crime. Olympias indeed prepared the horses for the assassin's escape. And then, when she had heard that Philip had been killed and came running, as duty required, for the funeral, on the very night of her arrival she placed a golden crown on the head of Pausanias as he hung on the cross. She was the only one who could have dared to do this while the son of Philip lived. Then after a few days she took down the body of the killer and burned it on top of the remains of her husband, made a tomb for him in the same place, and established annual solemn sacrifices for him by beating superstition into the people. After this she forced Cleopatra, by whom she had been driven from her marriage with Philip, to end her life in a noose, after first killing her daughter on her lap.

Justin 9.7.7–12¹⁴⁹

It is unlikely that Olympias and Alexander were directly involved in the assassination of Philip at the wedding of Alexander's full sister Cleopatra to her uncle, Olympias' brother Alexander of Epirus.¹⁵⁰

Diodorus' account of the murder as the result of a complex homosexual intrigue is to be preferred.¹⁵¹ But the fact that the tale of Olympias' and Alexander's involvement in the murder was manufactured tells us much about the dynamics that the ancients believed operated at the Macedonian court.

Alexander himself cast allegations of bastardy against another rival line: that of Philinna and Arrhidaeus:

Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, tried to sneak into an alliance with Philip on the basis of a relationship. He wished to give the eldest of his daughters as wife to Philip Arrhidaeus, and dispatched Aristocritus to Macedonia to discuss these matters. Again stories and slanders were conveyed to Alexander by his friends and his mother. They claimed that Philip was setting up Arrhidaeus for the kingship by a splendid marriage and by involving him in matters of import. Alexander was distraught at this and sent the tragic actor Thessalus to Caria to tell Pixodarus that he should forget the bastard (*nothos*) Arrhidaeus, who was mentally unstable, and transfer his marriage alliance to Alexander. This prospect pleased Pixodarus far more than the previous one. But when Philip found out, he went to Alexander's room, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and colleagues, Philotas the son of Parmenion. He told him off sternly and bitterly abused him as behaving below his birth and as unworthy of the good things with which he was surrounded, if he was eager to become the son-in-law of a Carian and a slave to the barbarian king...

Plutarch *Alexander* 10¹⁵²

It is doubtless from this amphimetric dispute that abusive representations of Philinna derive: Plutarch elsewhere calls her 'without repute and common', Athenaeus calls her a 'dancing girl', Justin a 'Larissan dancing girl' and a 'Larissan whore'.¹⁵³ It is virtually certain, however, that, since the marriage to Philinna had been intended to cement Philip's relationship with Larissa, Philinna must have been a scion of the noble Aleuad family that controlled the city¹⁵⁴ (just as we know that Nicesipolis of Pherae, whose marriage was co-ordinated with that of Philinna, belonged to the family of Jason).¹⁵⁵ In making such allegations Alexander either relied on the high birth of his mother, or attempted to suggest that Philinna's children were likely to be adulterine (it may be noteworthy that Philinna had been married to another man before Philip).¹⁵⁶ The bitterness of the amphimetric dispute between these lines is encapsulated by Plutarch's colourful tale that Arrhidaeus had been a promising youth who was turned mad by Olympias' poisons.¹⁵⁷ Olympias' hatred of Arrhidaeus endured long after Alexander's death, until she finally had him killed in 317, whilst at the same time forcing his wife Adeia-Eurydice to hang herself with her own girdle.¹⁵⁸ It is far

less plausible that Olympias should have become hostile to Philinna and begun to develop allegations against her origin only during the wars of the Successors after the death of Alexander.¹⁵⁹

Justin explicitly states that Alexander had another amphimetric rival, Caranus, 'his brother born of a stepmother', whom he duly murdered immediately upon accession.¹⁶⁰ No indication is given as to the identity of his mother, who may be one of the wives in Satyrus' list (but he should not be identified with the male child Attalus hoped would be produced by Cleopatra: the child turned out to be the female Europa).¹⁶¹ He also speaks vaguely of Philip begetting 'many other sons' in addition to Alexander and Arrhidaeus from various marriages (*matrimoniis*), who died partly by chance and partly by the sword.¹⁶² If this is not just a rhetorical magnification of the fate of Caranus, then perhaps Alexander killed a number of unnamed amphimetric competitors. It has recently been suggested that Philip, in despair at the small number of his usable sons, married Cynna/Cynane, his daughter by Audata, to Amyntas ('IV') son of Perdiccas in order to manufacture another possible heir.¹⁶³ Alexander also had Amyntas killed soon after his accession.¹⁶⁴

The brilliant discoveries of the late-fourth-century royal tombs of Aegae (modern Vergina: the identification is no longer seriously doubted) have only an incidental bearing on the issues that concern us. Scholars continue to dispute whether it was Tomb 1 or Tomb 2 (the 'Great Tomb') that contained the bones of Philip II. Both Tomb 1, the looted cist tomb, decorated with a fresco of the Rape of Persephone, and Tomb 2, the splendid, intact, barrel-vaulted chamber tomb, contained the bones of a man in his 40s and a woman of around 20, bones that fit well the age profiles of Philip II and Cleopatra at their adjacent deaths. The bulk of scholarly opinion has now fallen in behind Andronikos' identification of Tomb 2 as that of Philip.¹⁶⁵ The main alternative view is that Philip II belongs in Tomb 1, with the bones in Tomb 2 being those rather of Philip Arrhidaeus and his wife Adea-Eurydice, who also fitted the age-profile of the bones at their deaths at the hands of Olympias in 317.¹⁶⁶ But whichever tomb was Philip's, it appears that Cleopatra was buried with him.¹⁶⁷ In one respect it is a shame that Tomb 1 has been dissociated from Philip, because it also contained the bones of an infant, who could so well have been the Europa that Olympias butchered on Cleopatra's knee. For us the most curious aspect of these discoveries is the fact that Alexander, in the conduct of the funeral, which was itself an act legitimating of himself as Philip's successor, should have permitted his amphimetric

rival Cleopatra what might have been considered such a supremely legitimating honour.¹⁶⁸ But perhaps she could be permitted a degree of retrospective legitimacy now that she was safely dead. And the burial of Cleopatra beside Philip is compatible with literary sources that claim that Alexander was outraged by his mother's murder of the pair—an outrage doubtless confected for the conciliation of noble opinion.

Among Philip's undifferentiated wives therefore we have a graphic three-way bastardy and amphimetric dispute, which well illustrates the inadequacy of the juridical or constitutionalist approach to Macedonian royal legitimacy: bastardy allegations were tendentious and competitive.

Alexander as a divine bastard

While Macedonian princes usually fought against being portrayed as bastard, there may have been a sense in which Alexander actively promoted his representation as such: as, that is, the divine bastard of Zeus. It is important to distinguish the traces of this propaganda from that of his amphimetric opponents.

Alexander was claiming to be the son of Zeus at least by his visit to Siwah in 331, when he welcomed being told that Zeus/Ammon was his father:

Alexander wished to emulate Perseus and Heracles, since he was descended from both of them, and since he himself too related some part of his birth (*ti...tēs geneseōs tēs heautou*) to Ammon, just as myths related that (*tēs*)¹⁶⁹ of Heracles and that of Perseus to Zeus. So he made for Ammon with this idea, so that he could know or say he knew the details of his origin more accurately.

Arrian *Anabasis* 3.3.2¹⁷⁰

This must mean that Alexander was claiming that Zeus/Ammon was partly but not wholly responsible for his siring.¹⁷¹ The association with Heracles in this regard is particularly apposite, since he, the most famous 'bastard' of Greek mythology,¹⁷² was regarded as sharing his paternity between the mortal Amphytrion and the immortal Zeus.¹⁷³ One notion at any rate seems to have been that the seed of the two males mingled in his mother Alcmene's womb. Another was that two Heracleses were sired: a mortal and an immortal one.¹⁷⁴ The twin pairs of the Dioscuri and Helen and Clytemnestra had similarly been produced after the mortal Tyndareus and the immortal Zeus had inseminated Leda in parallel fashion, and correspondingly shared aspects of mortality and immortality.¹⁷⁵ Alexander was to continue his emulation of Heracles.¹⁷⁶ No comparable myths of dual paternity attach to Perseus, but he is doubtless included in Arrian's explanation here because Herodotus had brought both Perseus and Heracles to

Egypt.¹⁷⁷ (The notion of Zeus/Ammon's paternity of Alexander was subsequently developed in an interesting way by the fourth-century AD [?] Pseudo-Callisthenic *Alexander Romance*, which tells that Alexander was sired by the pharaoh Nectanebo impersonating Ammon, after he had seduced Olympias with the aid of a wax voodoo doll.)¹⁷⁸

The idea that Alexander was sired jointly by Philip and Zeus seems to underpin Plutarch's first tale of Alexander's conception. According to this Philip dreamed after the consummation of his marriage that Olympias' womb was struck by a thunderbolt (a manifestation of Zeus).¹⁷⁹ His third tale is also compatible with such an idea. In this Philip's ardour for Olympias dimmed after finding his wife sharing the bed with a snake.¹⁸⁰ But this tale at any rate was probably generated after the visit to Ammon, since the snake is evidently intended to represent the Egyptian rather than the Greek aspect of Zeus.

The second story that Plutarch gives us of Alexander's conception is quite similar to the first: Philip dreamed that he was putting a lion-seal on Olympias' womb, and Aristander of Telmessus prophesied that he would have a lion-like son. This tale is also found in Cicero and Tertullian, where, crucially, it is attributed to Ephorus.¹⁸¹ This means that this particular tale almost certainly antedates the visit to Siwah, since by 330 Ephorus is thought to have been dead or at any rate to have finished writing his history.¹⁸² Thus, Alexander was claiming some sort of divine intervention in his generation even prior to Siwah. The lion, particularly in a Macedonian context, was the symbol of Heracles: since Alexander I the kings had issued coinage bearing the image of Heracles and some part of a lion.¹⁸³ (Did the seal that Philip placed on Olympias' womb resemble a coin die?) It therefore seems that Alexander was already claiming dual paternity or parallel insemination on the model of Heracles. And if Zeus was his father, then so was Philip, not least because he was the planter of the seal. Parallel insemination was a useful concept because it permitted Alexander a divine claim to rule without depriving him of his mortal filiation to Philip upon which his earthly claim to the Macedonian throne depended. Alexander may have touted such claims prior even to his accession. Demosthenes perhaps mocked Alexander's claims about his paternity specifically in branding him already on his accession 'a mere Margites', since Margites was a mythical idiot, who knew neither his father nor his mother.¹⁸⁴ Although Plutarch subsequently indicates that Alexander totally rejected the paternity of Philip, by, for example, referring to him as his 'so-called father',¹⁸⁵ this was not the view of Arrian and others.¹⁸⁶ Alexander may have continued a debate

with Olympias as to the nature of his paternity after Siwah, if the letter he wrote to her after the Siwah visit promising 'secret prophecies' is genuine.¹⁸⁷ However, Alexander could also identify himself as the son of a god more directly through Philip himself, over whose deification he presided.¹⁸⁸

The generations of the Argead dynasty considered here all attest the same amphimetric fault-lines. Despite the rather special context of Alexander's marriages, his family was to operate in a similar way, as will be seen in the next chapter. So far as our evidence goes, it appears that no Argead king made an attempt to change dynastic culture and emerge from the cycle of polygamy and internecine murder. Such experiments had to wait for the new dynasties of the hellenistic world, which were to adopt the basic Argead system, but existed at a sufficient remove from the old family to be able to consider mechanisms for the avoidance of the system's most debilitating features.

Notes

¹ Illiteracy is implied by Arrian *Anabasis* 7.9; cf. Kallérís 1954–76, i 53–7. Borza 1990, 305 reports the discovery, announced by G. Akamatis, of a late fifth-century Greek curse tablet from a mass grave in Pella, which he suggests may indicate some lower-class literacy in Macedon at this point. The tablet awaits publication, but it is unlikely to tell us anything about the spread of Macedonian literacy for two reasons: firstly, and contrary to an outdated prejudice, curse tablets were not the preserve of 'superstitious' lower classes in the Greek world; secondly, it is clear that there was significant professional involvement in the manufacture of curse tablets. See Gager 1992 and Ogden (forthcoming).

² Philip and Alexander are depicted as sitting as supreme judges in many of their 'sayings' as reported by Plutarch *Moralia* 177–81. On legal organisation in Argead Macedon see: Aymard 1950, 127 and 154–161, Kallérís 1954–76, ii 577–89, Briant 1973, 293 and 319–20, Ellis 1976, 24–5 and Hammond and Griffith 1979, 385–95.

³ Borza 1990, 238–9.

⁴ Arrian *Anabasis* 4.11.6.

⁵ Granier 1931, 14 and 52–4, Aymard 1950, 117–23, Badian 1967b, 197, Edson 1970, 22–3, Bosworth 1971a, 129 and Ellis 1976, 25 and 245 n. 11, and 1977, 107 n. 12. For the notion that there existed a Macedonian 'state' that was separate and distinct from the king, see Aymard 1948, Will 1975 and Mooren 1983; and against these see Lévy 1978, Hammond 1989a, 166–77, Borza 1990, 231–48 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 118–19.

⁶ For 'designation' by the preceding king, see Greenwalt 1989, 34–5, *pace* Briant 1973, 330 (with a controversial interpretation of Curtius 10.7.2).

⁷ See Justin 7.2.1–4; for Alexander's care in the conduct of Philip's funeral, see Diodorus 17.2.1 and Justin 11.2.1; cf. Briant 1973, 318–19, Badian 1968,

186–9, Green 1990, 13 and Hammond 1994, 177. This notion prevailed also in classical Athens: Isaeus 6.60 and 64, with Ogden 1996, 99.

⁸ Granier 1931, 52, Geyer 1930b, 90–1 and Kalléris 1954–76, ii 577–8.

⁹ Aymard 1950, 158–61, Briant 1973, 318–20 and Ellis 1976, 24–5, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 152–8 and 383–91, Hatzopoulos 1987, 291, Bosworth 1988, 26, O'Brien 1992, 40 and Hammond 1994, 41 and 171. Against this view see Lévy 1978, 218–22.

¹⁰ Errington 1978, 99–101 and Greenwalt 1989, 19–20, 31 and 34–6. A court clique certainly seems to have selected the regent Antigonos Doson, according to Plutarch *Aemilius Paulus* 8.2. However, this was much later, within a different dynasty, and in the rather particular circumstance of the deceased king leaving no close relatives behind him, except a son in his minority.

¹¹ Borza 1990, 234, 243–5 and 298; cf. also more generally Lock 1977, Errington 1978 and 1983 and Anson 1985 and 1991.

¹² Curtius 10.6.1–2, Arrian *Successors FGH* 156 F1.2 and Plutarch *Eumenes* 3; cf. Briant 1973, 243–5 and 347.

¹³ Herodotus 8.137–9, on which see Kleinknecht 1966. A variant of the myth involving not Perdiccas but Caranus as founder is found at Justin 7.1–2, Diodorus 7.15, Syncellus p. 499 Dindorf and Scholiast on Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 2.11.

¹⁴ Herodotus 1.8–13 and Plato *Republic* 359–60b. On the structural relationships between these two tales, see Ogden 1997, 119–23.

¹⁵ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 169–70, 182, 184 and the family tree opposite 176.

No source says that Amyntas II ('the Little') was the son of Menelaus. It is plainly Amyntas III that Justin 7.4.3 and Aelian *Varia Historia* 12.43 claim—rightly or wrongly—to have been the son of Menelaus (see below for discussion).

No source says that Ptolemy of Alorus was the son of Amyntas II. Diodorus 15.71.1 evidently refers—rightly or wrongly—to Amyntas III.

There is no evidence even for the existence of 'Philip', supposed son of Amyntas II and brother of Ptolemy of Alorus, who has been concocted out of perverse interpretations of the plain references to Philip II at Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43 and Scholiast Aeschines 2.27.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Borza 1990, 190–1; perhaps Hammond's influence also underlies Whitehorne 1994, 31.

¹⁷ Beloch 1912–27—for matters of pure genealogy, though not for the status of royal women.

¹⁸ Geyer 1930b.

¹⁹ Plato *Gorgias* 471.

²⁰ Geyer 1930b, 51–2, Momigliano 1934, 14–16, Cole 1974, 55–7, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 115 and 134, Borza 1990, 135 and Whitehorne 1994, 16 all believe that Alcetas had a partitioned principality.

²¹ Scholiast Aristides 46.120.2 (Dindorf iii p. 450).

²² Thucydides 1.57.3, 2.95.2 and 2.100.3; cf. Gomme et al. 1945–81 ad locc. For speculation on the precise relationship of Derdas to the Argeads, see Badian 1994, 127–30.

²³ Aelian *Varia Historia* 12.43.

²⁴ Syncellus p. 500 Dindorf.

²⁵ Geyer 1930b, 51 and Greenwalt 1989, 29 n. 40 speculate that Perdikkas was born from a different mother to that of Alcetas and Philip.

²⁶ Curtius 6.11.26; cf. Tripodi 1984 and Borza 1990, 133–4.

²⁷ Thucydides 2.101.5–6.

²⁸ 440s?: Errington 1986, 24 and 230–1.

435?: Meritt et al. 1939–53, iii 313–14 with n. 61, after Thucydides 1.57.2.

431?: Hoffman 1975, 367–77 (answered by Cole 1977).

423/2?: Gomme et al. 1945–81 ad loc., Bengtson and Schmitt 1962–, i p. 186, Mattingly 1968, 472–3, Meiggs 1972, 428–9, Cole 1974, 69 and 1977, 29–32, Borza 1990, 154 and 295 and Whitehorne 1994, 25 after Thucydides 4.132.

417–413?: Lewis in *IG*³ 89 ad loc., after Thucydides 6.8.3 and 7.9.

415?: Hammond and Griffith 1979, 134–6 and 78.

413?: Edson 1970, 34.

²⁹ This inscription has been repeatedly misused. The order of princes cannot reflect the current order of precedence at the Macedonian court, as is believed by Geyer 1930b, 84–5 and 127, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 134–6 and 178, Errington 1986, 24 and 230–1, Hatzopoulos 1987, 280 and 284, Greenwalt 1989, 24, Borza 1990, 135 and 161, Whitehorne 1994, 21 and Hammond 1994, 8. Constitutionalism lurks beneath this view. But no set of 'establishment rules' can be defined to generate the preserved order: brother is separated from brother and father from son. Minority does not account for demotion down the list (*pace* Geyer 1930b, 85 and Errington 1986, 24): if Archelaus was in his minority, and therefore demoted from his 'ideal' position, i.e., directly after his father, why is he not postponed beyond his other uncles also? (If the treaty does belong to 423/2, all the sons of Alexander will have been at least around 30, since he died *c.* 454). There is also the difficulty that there is no agreement among scholars as to the age of majority in Argead Macedon. On the basis of very few exploitable examples the following bids have been made:

15?: Ehrhardt 1967.

16?: Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 66 and Cawkwell 1978, 178.

17?: Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 69.

18?: Griffith 1970 and Hammond and Griffith 1979, 178.

Over 20?: Ellis 1981, 109 and Le Bohec 1993b. Compatibly with this, perhaps, Greenwalt 1988b argues that Macedonian kings and princes were expected to marry in their early 20s (whilst princesses were typically married in their late teens). For what it is worth, the legal age of majority in classical Athens was either 17 or 18: see Harrison 1968–71, i 74 n. 3. It would surprise me if the notion of royal majority in Argead Macedonia were any more stable than that of legitimacy.

These considerations apart, the restoration of the two lost names in the 'sequence' can only serve to complicate matters further. The diversity of suggestions made for the missing names indicates the futility of speculation here:

Amyntas son of Philip (for first name): Droysen 1877–8, i.1.1 71–2.

Philip the son of Alexander, and Amyntas the son of Philip, after Thucydides

2.100.2: Meritt et al. 1939–53, iii 313–14 with n. 61.

Alexander the son of Alcetas and Aeropus the son of Philip: Mattingly 1968, 474.

Aeropus son of Perdiccas and Alexander son of Alcetas, after Plato *Gorgias* 471 and Scholiast Aristides 46.102.2: Hammond and Griffith 1979, 134–6 and 178.

The issue is discussed inconclusively at Cole 1974, 60–1 and 1977, 29–32.

The literary sources make it difficult to suppose that the order represents kingly favour.

Another fragmentarily preserved inscription, that recording Amyntas III's alliance with Athens in 375 or 373, Tod ii no. 129, has been similarly misused in arguments about court precedence. The worst aspect of the mistreatment of this particular inscription, in the eagerness to press order of precedence from it, is the repeated assertion that Alexander (later II) directly follows his father Amyntas III in the list of oath-takers: thus Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 66, Geyer 1930b, 124 and 127, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 178 and Hatzopoulos 1986, 282. This is to ignore the fact that between the end of Amyntas' patronymic at the end of line 20 and the putative beginning of Alexander's name in the middle of line 21 there is a lacuna of 16 spaces, which is, coincidentally, the average length of an ancient Greek name with its patronymic. The late Prof. D.M. Lewis was kind enough to confirm my suspicions here by showing me the Ashmolean squeeze.

³⁰ For discussion see Dodds 1959 pp. 241–2, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 133–7 and Borza 1990, 161–2.

³¹ Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43.

³² Whitehorne 1994, 20–1 speculates that Simiche's status was diminished by the arrival of the subsequently married Cleopatra; at 26–9 he speculates that Cleopatra was a daughter of the Lyncestid king Arrhabeus.

³³ Scholiast Aristides 45.55 and 46.120.

³⁴ The attempt of Hatzopoulos 1987, 283–6 to separate the status of Archelaus from that of his mother is not convincing; see Greenwalt 1989, 25 and 37.

³⁵ McGlew 1993, 181.

³⁶ See Ogden 1997, 3, 49 and 83–4.

³⁷ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 154–5.

³⁸ I follow Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 56 and Geyer 1930b, 108 in reading *Amyntai* here; the emendation of the text suggested by Hammond and Griffith 1979, 169 is gratuitous and problematic. Whitehorne 1994, 31 takes this passage to indicate that Archelaus gave a daughter to an Amyntas son of Menelaus (following the fallacy of Hammond's 'family of Menelaus').

³⁹ Greenwalt 1988b.

⁴⁰ This is assumed by Whitehorne 1994, 30.

⁴¹ See Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 64, Gernet 1981, 290–3, Watson 1995, 58 and Introduction.

⁴² Again, if we follow Greenwalt 1988b.

⁴³ See Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 64 and Whitehorne 1994, 22, *pace* Hammond and Griffith 1979, 169 and Borza 1990, 178.

⁴⁴ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 134–6 and 170 guess that he was a son of Perdiccas II; Mattingly 1968, 474 guesses that he was a son of Philip,

Perdiccas II's brother. The attempts to identify him are bound up with the speculations about the lacunae in *IG*³ 89.

⁴⁵ Diodorus 14.84.6; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 64, Geyer 1930b, 105–10, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 168 and Borza 1990, 178.

⁴⁶ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 135 (of 389–3) line 1 and no. 157 (of 375–3) lines 20–1; cf. Diodorus 15.60.3 and Syncellus p. 500 (with Dindorf's emendation).

⁴⁷ Justin 7.4.3 and Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43. Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 66 and Geyer 1930b, 111 think these two sources are simply wrong. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 169, as we have seen, implausibly take these passages to refer to Amyntas II.

⁴⁸ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 169 argue that by the slavery jibe Aelian means that Amyntas was a Royal Page of Aeropus. But Amyntas III was a *senex* when he died in 369/8 (Justin 7.4.8), and so he must have been at least into his thirties during the reign of Aeropus in the early nineties.

⁴⁹ Argaeus is referred to by Diodorus 14.92.3–4 and 15.19.2; these passages are possibly doublets. See Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 57–8, Geyer 1930b, 112–8 and Borza 1990, 296–7. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 174–5 under-represent the similarities between the Diodoran passages; their use of the claim at Theopompus *FGH* 115 F29 that Archelaus was also called Argaeus, and of Pausanias as evidence that the usurper Argaeus was a son of Archelaus (and Pausanias likewise), is typically perverse.

⁵⁰ Justin 7.4.

⁵¹ e.g. Hatzopoulos 1987, 281–2 and Greenwalt 1988a, 37.

⁵² It is borne by the first named Macedonian woman in our sources, the sister of Alexander I: Herodotus 5.17–18; cf. Greenwalt 1988a, 43 n. 56.

⁵³ The inscription is published by Oikonomides 1983; Strabo C362.

⁵⁴ Cf. also Libanius *Hypotheses to the speeches of Demosthenes* introduction c.18 (at Förster's Teubner edition vol. viii p. 606).

⁵⁵ Hoffman 1906, 160–3, Papazoglou 1965, 151–3, Ellis 1969b, 7, 1973, 351 and 1976, 38, 42 and 259 n. 98, Bosworth 1971b, 100, Borza 1990, 191, O'Brien 1992, 29 and Whitehorne 1994, 27 (the last despite his acknowledgement of her relationship to Leonnatus at 62!).

⁵⁶ Geyer 1930b, 79–81, on the grounds that by 'the king of Elimeia' Aristotle refers to Sirrhas by soubriquet.

⁵⁷ Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 74 and 78–9, on the ground that since Aristotle mentions the Lyncestid and Elimioti kings, only the Orestian is left.

⁵⁸ Thus Momigliano 1934, 30, Dascalakis 1965, 28, Ellis 1969a, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 14–15, Oikonomides 1983, 63, Greenwalt 1989, 39 (*pace* the last of whom the new inscription does not favour any particular principality) and Hammond 1994, 8.

⁵⁹ Strabo C326.

⁶⁰ Hoffman 1906, 162 and Bosworth 1971b, 99–100.

⁶¹ Cf. Badian 1982b and below.

⁶² Oikonomides 1983, 63, drawing attention to the inscription Demitsas 1980 no. 677.

⁶³ *Suda* s.v. *Leonnatos*,

⁶⁴ Curtius 10.7.23; cf. Arrian *Indica* 18.3.

⁶⁵ Berve 1926 no. 466 makes Leonnatus Orestian, after Beloch on Eurydice; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 16 n. 3 and Heckel 1992, 91 make him Lyncestid, after their suppositions about Eurydice's origin.

⁶⁶ Demosthenes 9.31, Libanius *Hypotheses to the speeches of Demosthenes* introduction c.18 (at Förster's Teubner edition vol. viii p. 606) and *Suda* s.v. *Karanos*. Demosthenes' accusations of barbarity against Philip are well catalogued by Dascalakis 1965, 256–69. For Libanius' repetition of Demosthenes' slurs see Schouler 1984, 542–50. For the notion that Demosthenes was the source of allegations against the children of Eurydice see Hoffman 1906, 162.

⁶⁷ See Hammond and Griffith 1979, 16 n. 3 and Hammond 1994, 17. For Theopompus' attitude towards Philip, see Shrimpton 1991 especially 128.

⁶⁸ Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 4.54; cf. Ogden 1996a, 202.

⁶⁹ If one were to take Justin's description of Gygaea as *noverca* to indicate serial monogamy, then it would imply that Gygaea was married subsequently to Eurydice, *pace* Hatzopoulos 1987, 281–2 and Greenwalt 1988a, 37.

⁷⁰ Theopompus *FGH* 115 F27.

⁷¹ Marsyas of Macedon *FGH* 135/6 F3, Diodorus 15.71 and 16.2.4 and Scholiast Aeschines 2.32.

⁷² Diodorus 16.2.4, Scholiast Aeschines 2.32 and Syncellus p. 500 Dindorf.

⁷³ Syncellus p. 500 Dindorf.

⁷⁴ Diodorus 15.71 and 15.77.

⁷⁵ Tod ii no. 129.

⁷⁶ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 182, followed by Borza 1990, 190–1.

⁷⁷ Justin 7.5.8–9, following on directly from the passage quoted above.

⁷⁸ Diodorus 16.2.4–5; cf. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 183 and 188 and Greenwalt 1989, 28; *pace* Hogarth 1897, 41 and Papazoglou 1965, 153.

⁷⁹ Aeschines 2.26–9. The portrait is certainly untrustworthy in its representation of the ages of Eurydice's children: in 367 Philip was 14, hardly a babe in arms.

⁸⁰ Aeschines 2.29.

⁸¹ Macurdy 1932, 19 and Hammond and Griffith 1979, 181–3 approve of Aeschines' broadly positive picture of Eurydice; Geyer 1930b, 128 considers Justin nearer the mark. See also Greenwalt 1988a, 41–4 and Hammond 1994, 16–17.

⁸² Mortensen 1992: Theopompus is suspected to have recycled the allegations.

⁸³ See Andronikos 1987, Hammond 1991, 1994, 17, 173 and 179, Ginouvès 1994, 4–5 and 154–161 (with superb illustrations) and Borza 1990, 308–9 (1992 paperback edition only).

⁸⁴ Justin 7.5.3.

⁸⁵ Carystius of Pergamum *FHG* iv p. 356 F1, at Athenaeus 506e; cf. Geyer 1930b, 135 and Hammond and Griffith 1979, 108 and 186.

⁸⁶ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 206–7, building on Speusippus *Socratic letter* 30.12 (which appears to be an incorrect reference). Hammond 1994, 18 is to be preferred. For the Socratic letters see Hercher 1871.

⁸⁷ Only Justin 7.5.9–10 explicitly makes him such, and this is no doubt to account for the inconcinnity perceived by Trogus/Justin after he has just aroused pity in his (probably false) account of the death of Perdiccas by mentioning his 'very little' (*parvulus*) son. The claim of Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki

and *Suda* s.v. *Karanos* that Philip was 'king' (*ebasileuse*) for 22 years, whereas in fact he ruled for 24, is due to miscalculation, not to the subtraction of a two-year 'regency'. Nothing can be concluded from the Lebadeia inscription IG vii² 3055 which refers to Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, as 'king of the Macedonians', as has been shown by Errington 1974 and Badian 1989. For the belief that Philip proceeded straight to kingship see also: Ellis 1971, 15 and 1976, 235, 246 n. 15 and 250 n. 10, Cawkwell 1978, 36, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 208–9, Tronson 1984, 120–1 and Borza 1990, 200–1. Older scholars, such as Beloch 1912–27, iii.1 225, Momigliano 1934, 36 and 41 and Aymard 1952, 87–90, did not doubt the regency, nor do O'Brien 1992, 40 or Hammond 1994, 23–4 and 40.

⁸⁸ Polyaeus *Strategemata* 8.60 and Arrian *FGH* 156 F9.22.

⁸⁹ Plutarch *Moralia* 327c, Justin 12.6.14, Arrian *Anabasis* 1.5.4 and Curtius 6.9.17 and 10.24.

⁹⁰ Dicaearchus *FHG* ii p. 240 F18.

⁹¹ Attalus is variously said to have been Cleopatra's uncle, brother and nephew: see the sources collated by Heckel 1981, 52 n. 6.

⁹² Cf. Athenaeus 650c. See the excellent discussions of Giallombardo 1976/7 and Tronson 1984. Hammond 1994, 14 believes that Satyrus is the ultimate source behind other accounts of Philip's marital feuds. Cf. also Theopompus *FGH* 115 F27 (at Polybius 8.9.2) for Philip's love of making marriages.

⁹³ Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 68–71.

⁹⁴ Thus Macurdy 1932, 25, Erhardt 1967, 297, Seibert 1967, 4, Griffith 1970, 70, Ellis 1976, 46–8 and 212 and 1981, 111–12, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 214, Hatzopoulos 1987, 288 and, hesitantly, Borza 1990, 207.

⁹⁵ Cf. Breccia 1903, 151–2, Macurdy 1932, 28, Fears 1975, 126, Giallombardo 1976/7, 103–9, Ellis 1976, 62 and 212–4 and 1981, 118, Cawkwell 1978, 24, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 215, Martin 1982, 67–8, Tronson 1984, 118 and 126, Greenwalt 1984, 70–2 and 1989, 22, Unz 1985, 174, Carney 1987a, 36, 1988a, 386, 1991b, 19 and 1992, 169–71, Hammond 1989, 32 and 1994, 40–1 and Borza 1990, 206. More general assertions of Argead polygamy are collected in the Argument.

⁹⁶ Pace Greenwalt 1989, 36–7.

⁹⁷ Thus Green 1990, 20, in reference to the marriage to Nicesipolis, which produced Thessalonice. But at 24 Green paradoxically then describes Thessalonice as 'illegitimate'.

⁹⁸ Giallombardo 1976/7 passim, Ellis 1976, 212, Tronson 1984, 121–4 and Borza 1990, 206.

⁹⁹ Thus Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 68–9, Green 1974, 27–8 and 515 n. 55 and 1990, 20 and 24 and Errington 1975, 41.

¹⁰⁰ Thus Ellis 1981, 114.

¹⁰¹ See [Demosthenes] 59.122 and Diogenes Laertius 2.26. Cf. the term *synoikein*, literally meaning 'live with' or perhaps 'establish an *oikos* (household) with', which seems to have acquired the connotation of formal marriage in classical Athens: see Ogden 1996, 72–4, 79–83, 102 and 141.

¹⁰² Plutarch *Alexander* 2.2 and Justin 7.6.11.

¹⁰³ Plutarch *Alexander* 9 and Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki (both quoted in main text).

¹⁰⁴ Jordanes *Getica* 10.65; *pace* Whitehorne 1994, 34.

¹⁰⁵ Thus Macurdy 1932, 125 (Olympias is 'chief queen'), Bosworth 1971b, 101–2 ('household was dominated...by Olympias'), Ellis 1976, 213 and 1981, 17 (Olympias is 'chief wife' or 'queen'), and Hammond and Griffith 1979, 215 and 677 (Olympias is 'official queen'); more judicious words at Hammond 1994, 40.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ellis 1976, 212–14 and Carney 1987a generally.

¹⁰⁷ See Carney 1991a *passim*, especially 156 and 160–1: the first attestation of *basilissa* applied to a Macedonian woman is in Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 333 lines 6–7, dating from some point after 306. The 'Year of the Kings' takes its name from the episode narrated by Diodorus 20.53.2–4, in which Antigonus I and Demetrius I took on the title of *basileus* after their victory in the battle of Salamis. For Seleucus' assumption of kingship, also in 306, see Sachs and Wiseman 1954 at Year 7. For Ptolemy's assumption of kingship in 305, see Parian Marble *FGH* 239 B23. Macurdy 1928 and 1932, 8 argued that the term *basilissa* originated with Olympias. For royal terminology in general in Argead Macedon and the hellenistic world see Aymard 1949b.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Greenwalt 1989, 37–8.

¹⁰⁹ Thus Giallombardo 1976/7, 86–7, 90–1 and 108, Tronson 1984, 116–8, 121–2 and 124–5, Martin 1982, 67–9 and O'Brien 1992, 17 (implicitly).

¹¹⁰ Nicesipolis' marriage is placed in 352 by, e.g., Hammond and Griffith 1979, 278 and 676–7, Greenwalt 1984, 70 n. 6 and Borza 1990, 220. The main reasons for postponing this marriage are two. Firstly, the union is thought to make better sense after Philip's victory over Nicesipolis' native Pherae in 352. Secondly her daughter's name, Thessalonice, is supposed to salute this victory. But Thessalonice could still have been born after 352, even if her mother was married in 357 (if she was, this would indicate that Philip continued to sleep with and sire from prior wives after marrying subsequent ones). In any case, the phenomenon of the renaming of Macedonian women renders this sort of speculation rather idle.

Greenwalt 1984, 70 depends upon Satyrus' relative chronology being correct (paragraph 2), whilst still attempting to postpone Nicesipolis' marriage until 352, after that of Olympias (n. 6). Carney 1988a, 386–7 goes so far as to date the marriage to Nicesipolis as low as 346/5, in the belief that this was around the time of Thessalonice's birth.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Thessalonikē* Nicesipolis died soon after the birth of her daughter.

¹¹¹ Hammond 1994, 126, 136 and 182, on the basis of Justin 9.2.1–16.

¹¹² For this particular phrase and its significance see Heckel 1981, 52 and appendix 1.

¹¹³ Whitehorne 1994, 36–7 and 58 sees in the destinations of Olympias and Alexander an implicit threat to Philip to raise the western neighbours of Macedon in rebellion once he had left for the east.

¹¹⁴ Justin 9.5.9, 9.7.1, 9.7.5 and 11.11.2–4; Giallombardo 1976/7, 103–9, Ellis 1976, 212–14 and 1981, 303, Heckel 1981, 53–4, Develin 1981, 92–3 and 97, Carney 1987a, 44–7 and O'Brien 1992, 40 deny that there was any repudiation. Repudiation is apparently accepted by Fears 1975, 126.

¹¹⁵ Plutarch *Moralia* 70b and 179c.

¹¹⁶ *Pace* Hammond and Griffith 1979, 119 and 154–5, Ellis 1981 and Hatzopoulos 1987, 279.

¹¹⁷ Curtius 7.1.3 (by the agency of Parmenion; cf. 8.8.7) and Diodorus 17.5.2 (by the agency of Hecataeus); cf. Unz 1985, 173, Carney 1987a, 48–9 (with much discussion of scholarship) and 1991b, 18–19, Heckel 1992, 5 and Whitehorne 1994, 48–50. I am not persuaded by Ellis 1976, 214 and 1981, 101–10 and 135 that Alexander had determined to execute Attalus for an obscure crime and therefore concocted the story of Attalus' slur of bastardy against himself.

¹¹⁸ Justin 11.5.1.

¹¹⁹ Justin 9.7.12; at 11.2.3, however, Justin attributes the murder of Cleopatra to Alexander himself. For discussion of these murders, see Carney 1987a, 48–9, 1991b, 18–19 and Whitehorne 1994, 48–50.

¹²⁰ Pausanias 8.7.7; cf. also Plutarch 10.4, who is unspecific about the actual manner of execution.

¹²¹ Hatzopoulos 1987, refuted by Greenwalt 1989.

¹²² Giallombardo 1976–7, 102–4 and cf. Hogarth 1897, 137.

¹²³ Milns 1968, 28, Hamilton 1969, 24, Lane Fox 1973, 503, Ellis 1981, 100 and Bosworth 1988, 21.

¹²⁴ Justin 11.11.5.

¹²⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 26.4 and Plutarch *Pericles* 37.2–5; cf. Ogden 1996, 59–69, 150–65 and *passim*.

¹²⁶ Thus Macurdy 1932, 28, Badian 1963, 244, Lane Fox 1973, 503, Green 1974, 88–9, Ellis 1976, 214–9 and 1981, 121, Levi 1977, 72–4, Bosworth 1988, 21, Greenwalt 1989, 41–2, Carney 1992, 175, O'Brien 1992, 29 and Whitehorne 1994, 35–6. The view is contradicted by Bosworth 1971b, 102, Develin 1984, 94–5 and, apparently, by Carney 1987a, 43–5.

¹²⁷ Bosworth 1971b, 102, Ellis 1981, 120–1, Heckel 1992, 4 and Hammond 1994, 171–2; cf. Berve 1926 no. 181 for the Tymphaean Attalus.

¹²⁸ See Beloch 1912–27, iv.1 374–5, Ellis 1976, 217–9, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 374–5, Develin 1981, 94, Greenwalt 1984, 73, Carney 1987a, 40 and Greenwalt 1989, 41; *pace* Seibert 1967, 3–5.

¹²⁹ Arrian *Anabasis* 3.6.5.

¹³⁰ Cf. Heckel 1981, 52.

¹³¹ Plutarch *Alexander* 39.

¹³² See, e.g., Heckel 1981, 53, Carney 1987a, 42 n. 23 and O'Brien 1992, 12–14 and 16–19.

¹³³ Plutarch *Alexander* 8.4.

¹³⁴ Plutarch *Alexander* 25.6 and 68.4; cf. Carney 1987a, 42 n. 23, 46 and 53 and 1992b, 178 and Whitehorne 1994, 60–1.

¹³⁵ Arrian *Anabasis* 3.6.5; cf. Berve 1926 no. 434.

¹³⁶ See in general on this issue Macurdy 1932, 24–5, Giallombardo 1976/7, 85–6 and 1981, Heckel 1978, 1981 and 1983, Bosworth 1980–, i pp. 282–3, Badian 1982, 104–5 and Carney 1987a, 39 and 45 n. 33, 1987b, 1991a, 159–60 and 168 n. 30.

¹³⁷ Arrian *Successors* FGH 156 F1.22.

- ¹³⁸ Arrian *Successors* FGH 156 F1.23; cf. Carney 1987b, 497–8.
- ¹³⁹ Plutarch *Moralia* 401ab; cf. also Justin 9.7.13.
- ¹⁴⁰ Heckel 1981; cf. O'Brien 1992, 13, with notes.
- ¹⁴¹ Plutarch *Alexander* 3.8; cf. Macurdy 1932, 23–4.
- ¹⁴² Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4 calls her Barsine, all other sources Stateira (e.g. Plutarch *Alexander* 70).
- ¹⁴³ See Heckel 1978 and Hammond 1994, 172–3.
- ¹⁴⁴ Carney 1987b; cf. Green 1990, 12, who regards Eurydice as the Macedonian 'royal name'.
- ¹⁴⁵ Heckel 1978.
- ¹⁴⁶ Justin 13.3.1.
- ¹⁴⁷ Whitehorne 1994, 35–6.
- ¹⁴⁸ This gesture on Philip's part could also be seen as an attempted rapprochement with Olympias: cf. Whitehorne 1994, 40.
- ¹⁴⁹ So too Plutarch *Alexander* 10.6.
- ¹⁵⁰ Many scholars do believe in the involvement of Alexander and Olympias: thus Badian 1963, Milns 1968, 31, Bosworth 1971b, 97, Green 1974, 109 and 1990, 19–20, Heckel 1981, 57, Carney 1987a, 44–7 and 59 and 1992, 182–7, O'Brien 1992, 37–42 and McQueen 1995, 189–97. Develin 1981 argues for the direct involvement of Olympias but the mere *post eventum* acquiescence of Alexander; at this remove such whodunnits are fruitless. Against this kind of view see Hammond 1994, 172–3.
- ¹⁵¹ Diodorus 16.91–4; cf. Aristotle *Politics* 1311b2–4. The episode is put into its homosexual context well by Carney 1983, 263–4 and 1992, 180–2; cf. also Fears 1975 and Ogden 1996b especially 119–23. Heckel 1981, 56 expresses some doubts about apparent doublets in the assassination tale as told by Diodorus, of which the two Pausanias constitutions constitute the most striking instance. Arrian 1.14.5 suggests that the plot was orchestrated rather by the Persians; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 43–7.
- ¹⁵² See also Arrian *Anabasis* 1.23.8 and Strabo C675; cf. Badian 1963, 245–6, Hamilton 1969 ad loc., Heckel 1981, 57, Greenwalt 1984, 76, Bosworth 1988, 21–2 and O'Brien 1992, 31–3. I am not persuaded by Hatzopoulos 1982 and Hammond 1994, 174 that the affair is entirely fictional.
- ¹⁵³ Plutarch *Alexander* 77.5, Athenaeus 578a and Justin 9.8.2 and 13.2.11. Bosworth 1971a, 128 gives some credence to these sources in defining Arrhidaeus as 'possibly illegitimate'. Hammond 1983, 90–3 and 1994, 198 n. 3 implausibly argues that the origin of the abusive representation of Philip lay in the democratic opposition in Larissa, and was relayed by Cleitarchus.
- ¹⁵⁴ Cf. Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 69, Giallombardo 1976–7, 91, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 225, Heckel 1981, 51 and Greenwalt 1984, 69–72. See Berve 1926 no. 781 n. 4 for references to Philipina.
- ¹⁵⁵ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Thessalonikē*; cf. Carney 1988a, 386.
- ¹⁵⁶ By this man, whose identity is unknown, she had produced Amphimachus, who received a satrapy at Triparadeisos: Arrian *Successors* FGH 156 F1.35 and Diodorus 18.39.6 and 19.27.4; cf. Berve 1926 no. 66 and Greenwalt 1984, 71–2.
- ¹⁵⁷ Plutarch *Alexander* 77; for discussion of his condition see Greenwalt 1984, 74–6 and Heckel 1992, 144–5. Green 1990, 6 plumps for epilepsy on

the basis of Diodorus 18.2.2 and *Heidelberg Epitome FGH* 155 F1–2. Carney 1992, 172 gives some credence to the notion that Olympias poisoned him.

It is unclear whether Arrhidaeus was older than Alexander. John Malalas p. 196 Dindorf says Arrhidaeus was the elder. Most scholars take a similar line, e.g. Carney 1987a, 41 and 1992, 172–3, but Greenwalt 1984, 72–4 argues that Alexander was the elder. If so, we would have evidence that Philip continued to have sex with older wives after the acquisition of more recent ones, since he would thus have had sex with Philinna subsequently to marrying Olympias.

¹⁵⁸ Diodorus 19.11.1–7, Justin 14.5.8–10 and Aelian *Varia historia* 13.36; cf. Carney 1987a, 59, 1987b, 500 and 1991b, 19–20 and Green 1990, 19–20. This detail is suspiciously similar to Justin's account of Olympias' murder of Cleopatra.

¹⁵⁹ *Pace* Greenwalt 1984, 71.

¹⁶⁰ Justin 11.2.3.

¹⁶¹ The justification for identifying Caranus as Cleopatra's child is that Pausanias 8.7.7 refers to her child as grammatically male (*paida nēpion*), but this could be the result of an unreflecting elaboration of the common-gendered *paida* in an intermediate source, or the result of an unreflecting variation of a neuter *paidion*, the term used by Diodorus 17.2.3. Satyrus F21 not only makes the child female, but adds confidence by supplying the name Europa; Justin 9.7.12 also makes her female. See Beloch 1912–27, iii.2 71–2, Giallombardo 1976/7, 108, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 681, Heckel 1979, Ellis 1981, 113, Hatzopoulos 1987, 290 and O'Brien 1992, 40, the last of whom argues that Caranus was indeed Cleopatra's small child, and that the bestowal of one of the founders' names marked him out as especially destined for power, and so spurred Alexander and Olympias to act against him and Philip.

¹⁶² Justin 9.8.3 and 12.6.4; cf. Lane Fox 1973, 503–4 and Unz 1985, 172–3. Bosworth 1988, 19 considers Caranus a complete fiction, and argues that the 'brothers' killed by Alexander at Justin 12.6.14 were brothers of Cleopatra rather than of Alexander himself, but I am certain that Justin *thought* he was speaking of brothers of Alexander here. Hammond 1994, 171 misleadingly translates *susceptos* at Justin 9.8.3 as 'recognised' rather than 'begotten'.

¹⁶³ Polyaeus *Strategemata* 8.60 and Arrian *Successors FGH* 156 F9.22; cf. O'Brien 1992, 40 and Whitehorne 1994, 45.

¹⁶⁴ Plutarch *Alexander* 11 and *Moralia* 327c, Justin 12.6.14, Arrian *Anabasis* 1.5.4 and Curtius 6.9.17 and 6.10.24; cf. Bosworth 1988, 27.

¹⁶⁵ According to the now usual view Tomb 1 belonged to Amyntas III, Tomb 2 to Philip II and Tomb IV to Alexander IV. For arguments in support of this scheme see, amongst other works, Giallombardo and Tripodi 1980, Xirotiris and Langenscheidt 1981, Andronikos 1984 and 1987, Musgrave et al. 1984, Bosworth 1988, 27, Prag 1990, Hammond 1991 and 1994, 8, 43 and 178–82, Musgrave 1991, O'Brien 1992, 43 (despite 5–6), Whitehorne 1994, 51–6 and Riginos 1994.

¹⁶⁶ For the belief that Tomb 2 belongs rather to Arrhidaeus and Adeau-Eurydice, see Lehmann 1980 and Borza 1990, 256–66 and 297–300 (and his other work cited there). Carney 1987a, 49 n. 42, 1987b, 500–1 and 1991b does not commit herself to specific ascriptions, but discusses the implications

for the status of the women buried according to the ascriptions that have been proposed. The historical data relevant to the contextualisation of the various sets of bones is laid out by Green 1982. Carney 1991b, 17 n. 1, O'Brien 1992, 297–8 and Riginos 1994, 103 provide recent bibliography on the disputes.

¹⁶⁷ However, Hammond 1994, 178–82 implausibly argues that the young woman's body accompanying Philip is that of Meda or 'the daughter of Atheas', on the grounds that Getic and Scythian widows practised suttee.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Bosworth 1988, 27 n. 9, Carney 1991b, 19 and 22 and Hammond 1991, 77.

¹⁶⁹ I read *tēs* here with the manuscripts, rather than the *tēn* suggested by Krüger. My interpretation of the meaning is helped by *tēs*, but does not depend upon it.

¹⁷⁰ See also Curtius 4.7.5–32, Plutarch *Alexander* 26–8, Diodorus 17.49–51, Justin 11.11 and Callisthenes *FGH* 124 F14 (= Strabo C814).

¹⁷¹ Discussion at: Hamilton 1953, Seibert 1972, 116–25 and 192–202, Hamilton 1969 ad loc., Lane Fox 1973, 200–19, 522 and 524, Brunt 1976 appendix v, Giallombardo 1976/7, 104–8, Bosworth 1980–, i 270–5 and O'Brien 1992, 87–91. A different view is taken by Tarn 1948, ii 347–9 and 353–4 and Balsdon 1950, 371. *Pace* Bosworth, Brunt and Hamilton, Arrian's phraseology does not really invite the supposition that Alexander had in mind his ultimate descent from Zeus as a member of the Heraclid house of the Argeads/Temenids.

¹⁷² Aristophanes *Birds* 1649–70 and Plutarch *Themistocles* 1; cf. Ogden 1996a, 35, 55 and 199–201.

¹⁷³ Plautus *Amphitryo*, Euripides *Heracles* 1–3, 148–9, 339–40, 352–6 and 1258–68; cf. Bond 1981 ad locc. and Ogden 1996, 234 and 257.

¹⁷⁴ Homer *Odyssey* 11.601–4 and Herodotus 2.44.

¹⁷⁵ Apollodorus 3.10.6–7; cf. Ogden 1996, 234, with further references.

¹⁷⁶ See Lane Fox 1973 index s.v. *Heracles*, Brunt 1975 and 1976, i 446, 464–6 and ii appendix 16 and O'Brien 1992, 22–3.

¹⁷⁷ Herodotus 2.43–5 and 91; cf. Bosworth 1980–, i 270–5.

¹⁷⁸ Ps.-Callisthenes *Alexander Romance* 1.4–7.

¹⁷⁹ Plutarch *Alexander* 2.

¹⁸⁰ Plutarch *Alexander* 2 and Justin 11.11.3; cf. Tarn 1948, ii 353–4, Hamilton 1969 ad loc. and Lane Fox 1973, 217.

¹⁸¹ Plutarch *Alexander* 2, Cicero *De divinatione* 2.70.145 and Tertullian *De anima* 46 = Ephorus *FGH* 70 F217.

¹⁸² Barber 1935, 12–13 and Lane Fox 1973, 524.

¹⁸³ See Hammond and Griffith 1979, 110, 120–1 and 138.

¹⁸⁴ See Marsyas of Pella *FGH* 135 F3, Aeschines 2.160 and Plutarch *Demosthenes* 23.2; cf. Lane Fox 1973, 214–15 and 524.

¹⁸⁵ Plutarch *Alexander* 28.1 and 50.6.

¹⁸⁶ See, e.g., Arrian *Anabasis* 7.9–10 and Diodorus 18.4.5.

¹⁸⁷ Plutarch *Alexander* 27.5; cf. Justin 11.11.2–8; Pearson 1954–5, 447 accepts the letter's genuineness; Kaerst 1892, 406 and Lane Fox 1973, 216 and 214 doubt it.

¹⁸⁸ See Hammond 1994, 182–5.

Chapter 2

ALEXANDER

Barsine
Heracles

Roxane
miscarriage
Alexander IV

Stateira

Parysatis

The disputes within the family of Alexander III the Great (*Fig. 1*) basically mirror well those within the families of Philip II and his predecessors. Alexander too was polygamous,¹ and his wives are difficult to hierarchise during his own life. Bastardy accusations were cast against his various children after his death. Since, however, Alexander died young, his children were still small and in one case merely foetal at the time of his death. The children themselves did not therefore compete directly and personally for the succession. Rather, battle was joined between their mothers and their various champions—men who thought they could exploit their links with the women and their offspring to their own advantage. Indeed the initial disputes of the *Diadochoi* or the ‘Successors’ to Alexander can be seen as an extended amphimetric dispute.

Despite his reputation for homosexual preference² (among his homosexual partners Hephaistion,³ Excipinus [?]⁴ and Bagoas the eunuch⁵ are named), Alexander is associated with more women than any other Argead king. This is in part due, no doubt, to the more



Fig. 1. Alexander the Great.
Silver tetradrachm.
American Numismatic Society
1957.172.1269 obv.
© American Numismatic Society

detailed nature of the sources for Alexander, and to their more intensively mythologised and romanticised nature. Most of these women may be passed over without comment, in view of the fact that their liaisons with Alexander were transitory, fictional, not productive of children, or productive only of matrilocal children. Philip and Olympias supposedly tried to ween Alexander onto women with the charms of the Thessalian courtesan Callixeina, for fear that he was an 'effeminate' (*gynnis*).⁶ Candace, the Ethiopian queen, merely expressed the desire for sons like Alexander;⁷ her episode is similar to that in which Ada of Alinda adopted Alexander as her son.⁸ Alexander's son 'Alexander' by Cleophis or Cleophylis, the mother of Assacenos, seems to be a fiction modelled on the Candace episode.⁹ It goes without saying that Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, who came to Alexander 'for the sake of child-making' (*paidopoiias charin*), is entirely fictional.¹⁰ Alexander is also associated with Thais, the Athenian courtesan who at any rate came to belong to Ptolemy (to whom we shall return in chapter 4 and Part II),¹¹ and more generally with the 360 unnamed courtesans of Darius.¹² Let us turn to Alexander's more tangible matches.

Parmenion advised Alexander in 334 to marry and get an heir before embarking on his Asian expedition. Both he and Antipater had daughters to offer him, but both were refused. Parmenion's advice was clearly self-interested: perhaps he used premises similar to Attalus' and argued that Alexander had to marry before leaving Macedon on the grounds that otherwise 'legitimate', i.e. Macedonian, brides would not thenceforth be available to him.¹³

After this rebuff Parmenion apparently limited his ambitions and became more successful in his marital advice. In 332 Alexander took on Barsine, the hellenised daughter of the Persian noble Artabazus.¹⁴ Plutarch tells that this was 'with Parmenion urging Alexander on, as Aristoboulos says, to have sex with (*hapsasthai*) a beautiful and noble woman'.¹⁵ *Hapsasthai* is an odd word to use,¹⁶ and Plutarch may not think that Parmenion actually advised marriage, for he goes on to say 'Nor did Alexander know any other woman before his marrying, except for Barsine.' But if advice was given at all, it must have been not merely to take a lover, but to beget (necessarily legitimate) heirs.¹⁷ Barsine may initially have been a creature of Parmenion's, for she had first fallen into his hands after the battle of Issus.¹⁸ We cannot deny her the title 'wife' on the grounds that she was oriental and a captive: Roxane and Stateira were both these things and both were indisputably married.

Barsine bore the appropriately named Heracles c. 327, since Diodorus tells that he was 'about 17' in 309.¹⁹ This information is probably reliable, because Diodorus is using the respectable Hieronymus of Cardia. (It is a curiosity that Diodorus elsewhere refers to Alexander IV as the only son of Alexander.)²⁰ The date of Heracles' birth also tells us that Barsine was by Alexander's side for at least four years. By the time of Alexander's death she was back in her ancestral home of Pergamum,²¹ but despite the claims of some scholars, there is no specific evidence of any 'repudiation', whether to make way for Roxane or not.²² The best context that has been adduced for such a repudiation is her father Artabazus' request to retire from his satrapy in 328 on the ground of age; but her brothers, notably Cophen, and sisters continued to hold positions of respect in the *Alexanderreich*.²³ Whatever the fate of Barsine, Heracles remained Alexander's only (surviving) son at the time of his death, so Alexander would have been extremely foolish to attempt to bastardise him in any way.

Although Plutarch does not make the point explicitly, his description of Alexander's relationship with Barsine does imply that her child Heracles was a bastard. It would be wrong to be led by the apparently innocuous and indirect nature of these remarks into thinking that here at least was evidence of *genuine* royal bastardy. We have no way of proving that Plutarch's assumption about the status of Heracles does not owe its origin to the successful arguments against his elevation to the throne at Babylon. We should again bear in mind the importance of reading all claims of bastardy cast against princes—direct or indirect—discursively.

In 327 Alexander married the captive Bactrian noblewoman Roxane, apparently immediately upon falling in love with her at Smithrines' banquet. According to Arrian, 'Alexander did not wish to rape (*hybrisai*) her as a prisoner of war, but did not disdain marrying her'; and according to Plutarch, 'Alexander was not so bold as to lay a finger on the one woman by whom he was overcome without law'.²⁴ Alexander clearly therefore wished to present Roxane as a legitimate bride, and he did this by means of the traditional Macedonian wedding pomp:

The king, in the midst of the heat of his desire ordered bread to be brought in the ancestral manner—for this constitutes the most sacred pledge for marrying couples among the Macedonians. The bread was divided with a sword, and each partner tasted some. Curtius 8.4.27

Curtius could not be more plain about the Macedonian nature of this

ceremony (a claim he makes twice), and indeed Renard and Servais have demonstrated its Graeco-Macedonian context by adducing parallel customs from that culture.²⁵ The ceremony cannot be a Persian one, as Arrian's explicit description of the traditional Persian marriage ceremony shows it to be quite different.²⁶ Lucian twice describes a sentimental painting of Alexander's and Roxane's wedding night by the contemporary painter Aetion.²⁷ Curtius goes on to say that the Macedonians were ashamed that their king was marrying a captive, and objected to the employment of the ancestral ceremony. Alexander defended himself by comparing himself to another of his favourite heroes, Achilles, who had married his captive Briseis.²⁸ The marriage in part addressed the immediate need to pacify Bactria; it also attempted in part a political reconciliation with the Persians and thus anticipated Susa;²⁹ Alexander anticipated Susa here also insofar as he presided over the marriages of some of his friends to Bactrian women.³⁰ There is no particular reason for supposing that this ceremony was intended to differentiate the status of Roxane from that of Barsine in any absolute way. The *Metz Epitome* also tells us that in 326 Roxane was accompanying Alexander in India when she had a miscarriage or gave birth to a short-lived son at the Hydaspes.³¹ Roxane was evidently not supplanted by the marriages at Susa to Stateira and Parysatis, for she nursed Alexander on his death-bed in 323³² and was eight months pregnant with Alexander IV when he actually died.³³

Darius had offered Alexander the hand of his eldest daughter Barsine-Stateira after the battle of Issus in 332, but Alexander had refused it, on the ground, according to Arrian, that if he did want to marry her, he would do so without Darius' leave.³⁴ Despite this remark, Alexander was generally noted for his respectful treatment of captured Persian women.³⁵ The remark highlights a certain paradox, in Greek terms, of marriages made by an absolute monarch. In Greek culture marriage (*gamos*) was a contract between two men who were, if not equal, at any rate equally free. In some sense an absolute monarch's women could only ever be concubines, since he could never enjoy the symmetrical relationship with their fathers that is normally integral to *gamos*. Here then is another reason why the distinction between wives and concubines could become effaced in a royal context. While Arrian reports that Parmenion urged Alexander to accept peace terms from Darius in general, we cannot conclude that he specifically urged this marriage in particular.

By marrying Barsine-Stateira amid the great weddings that he ordained between Macedonian and Persian nobles at Susa in 324

Alexander claimed to be the successor to the Achaemenids.³⁶ We have seen that the Argead kings liked to assert their claim to the throne via the levirate technique of marrying, where possible, a widow of their predecessor. Archelaus and Ptolemy of Alorus had, it seems, done this. Now Alexander could not marry Stateira, the wife of Darius, for she had died *c.* 332.³⁷ Perhaps, therefore, the daughter was married to stand in for or even 'become' the mother. This may explain the difficulty surrounding the bride's name in the sources. In Arrian's official Susan wedding list she is called Barsine, but the vulgate sources refer to her as Stateira.³⁸ As we have seen, it was quite common for the wives of Macedonian princes to change their names, and we specifically argued above that Philip's first wife Audata may have changed her name to Eurydice on marriage in order to evoke the most 'legitimate' (in Philip's judgement at any rate) of Amyntas III's wives, Philip's mother Eurydice.

Alongside Stateira Alexander married Parysatis, the youngest daughter of the previous Persian king Artaxerxes III Ochus, and doubtless for similar reasons. The fact of this double marriage indisputably proves polygamy, if further proof is needed. Arrian tells us explicitly that the weddings were performed in accordance with Persian custom, which involved the setting up of thrones for the grooms, ceremonial health-drinking, the entry of the brides to sit beside their grooms and the kissing of the brides' hands by the grooms.³⁹ Perhaps this was a token of Alexander's increasing obsession with all things Persian. Roxane now had good reason to fret: both of Alexander's new brides were royal Persians, and superior in status to a mere Bactrian noblewoman, should her rivals search for arguments against her and any offspring she should have.

Curiously and conveniently, it was also Achaemenid custom for a new king to legitimate his position by marrying the wives and daughters of previous kings: Darius I had married a number of women in both categories;⁴⁰ Cyrus I had married the daughter of the Median king Astyages, Amytis/Mandane;⁴¹ according to one account Cambyses claimed the throne of Egypt because his father had married the daughter of the Egyptian king.⁴²

The many arguments after the death of Alexander over the legitimacy-statuses of his two sons, and that of his paternal half-brother Arrhidaeus, correlate graphically with the self-interest of individual competitors within the court. These arguments are recounted in greatest detail by Curtius, who probably derived his information from the respectable source Hieronymus of Cardia.⁴³ The dying

Alexander had shown that he favoured Perdiccas as his successor by the symbolic gift of his signet ring.⁴⁴ He also put Roxane's hand in Perdiccas':⁴⁵ this was surely an encouragement to Perdiccas to take power after his death and to legitimate his position by levirate. Alexander doubtless hoped that Perdiccas would be guardian to and regent for the child that Roxane was about to bear. In the event, no such marriage took place, for, as the succession crisis developed, Perdiccas found the offers of marriage with Nicaea daughter of Antipater and Cleopatra, full sister to Alexander the Great, more strategically useful.⁴⁶ As potential guardian to Roxane's child Perdiccas saw his future as tied to it and to the promotion of its legitimacy, and it was therefore upon this that he took his stand:

We hope that Roxane gives birth to a male child, so that he can take the kingdom, with the will of the gods, when he comes of age. In the meantime indicate (*destinate*) by which men you wish to be ruled.

Curtius 10.6.9⁴⁷

Meleager well understood the significance of Perdiccas' position:

Nor does it make any difference whether you have Roxane's son, when it is born, or Perdiccas as king, when that man is bound to seize the throne under the pretext of guardianship. That is the reason that he is content with no king, except one that is yet to be born.

Curtius 10.6.21

It is quite understandable therefore that Perdiccas should have abetted Roxane in her murder of Stateira:

Roxane happened to be pregnant and on this account was held in esteem by the Macedonians. But she was bitterly envious towards Stateira, and so tricked her into visiting her with an invented letter, and when she had brought her to her side, together with her sister, she killed her, and cast the bodies down a well, which she then filled up with earth. Perdiccas was in on this and helped her with it, for he was immediately in the strongest position of power, and he was dragging Arrhidaeus around with him as if he were a mute stage-bodyguard of his own kingship.

Plutarch *Alexander* 77⁴⁸

Perhaps Roxane killed Stateira for fear that she might already be pregnant, and produce a child to rival her own. Perhaps she feared that other generals might claim her hand and through it the throne. Or perhaps the murder was motivated by the cumulative anxiety Stateira had caused Roxane since her marriage. Stateira's sister was Drypetis, who had been married to Hephaistion at Susa in parallel with Alexander's marriage to Stateira, because, as Arrian says, Alexander wanted Hephaistion's children to be nephews and nieces to him.⁴⁹

Under the circumstances, we might have expected Stateira's partner in death to have been rather Parysatis: perhaps Plutarch or his source was confused. The claim that Roxane threw the women down a well recalls the means that Archelaus had chosen to unburden himself of Aeropus, the son of Cleopatra.

The lot of Heracles was championed by the most powerful member of the court with an exploitable connection to him, Nearchus, who was married to a daughter of Barsine (his wife was maternal half-sister to Heracles).⁵⁰ Nearchus evidently saw a grand future for himself in Heracles' elevation to the throne:

Nearchus said that no-one could deny that only the blood and stock of Alexander was appropriate for royal majesty. But it suited neither the Macedonian temper nor the occasion to wait for a king that was not yet born, whilst passing over one that already existed. The king had a son by Barsine. The diadem should be given to him. This speech pleased no-one.
Curtius 10.6.10–12

Justin makes Meleager rather than Nearchus the champion of Heracles,⁵¹ but Curtius' assignment of this role to Nearchus is particularly convincing, especially in view of the fact that he is apparently unaware of the connection between them. Perhaps Nearchus' arguments in Heracles' favour included a formal one of primogeniture. His case may have failed simply because he wasn't powerful enough, since he had been left out of the 323 division of satrapies; he may also have experienced prejudice as being a non-Macedonian Greek.⁵² Nearchus seems to have continued pressing Heracles' suit, for Heracles finally emerged in the camp of Antigonos,⁵³ the camp to which Nearchus had also come to belong.⁵⁴ Perhaps it was against Heracles' luck that unlike Alexander IV and Arrhidaeus he was not physically to hand at Babylon in 323 as a readily manipulable pawn. But the relative lack of interest shown by the Successors in Heracles, such a significant repository of the blood of the great Alexander, remains curious, and indicates that the prime value of Alexander's children was their exploitability.

Ptolemy had no easily exploitable claim on any member of the royal family, and so clung to the Attalan position that only a successor of pure Macedonian blood would suffice. Since there wasn't one, a council of nobles, within which he could himself take a leading role, should be established:

This is indeed progeny fit to rule the race of the Macedonians...a son of Roxane or Barsine! Europa will be disgusted at the prospect of even uttering the name of a child...that is slave in greater part.

Curtius 10.6.13–16⁵⁵

The self-interested agendas of all these nobles were exposed by the conservative attitudes of the common soldiery, who argued in favour of the adult Argead Arrhidaeus. Their spokesman was 'an unknown man from among the lowest of the common crowd' (a latter-day Thersites?):

What need have you of arms and civil war when you have the king you seek? Arrhidaeus, born of Philip, the brother of king Alexander, born a little prior to him, who recently participated with him in sacred rites and ceremonies and is now his sole heir, is passed over by you. How does he deserve this? Or what has he done that he should be cheated out of the common right of all races? If you seek one identical to Alexander, you will never find him; if you seek his nearest relation, he is the only one.

Curtius 10.7.1–2

According to Diodorus, the lot of Arrhidaeus was appropriately championed by the populist Meleager.⁵⁶ Perhaps the old bastardy allegations against Arrhidaeus from his former succession dispute with Alexander resurfaced here.

In the dearth of heirs in both their majority and their wits it fell to the nobles of the court to advance themselves in a similar way by developing legitimacy arguments in favour of the cypher that each of them could most easily control. The squabbles that followed the death of Alexander were an outgrowth of the problems of undifferentiated legitimacy and amphimetric strife that had beset the Argead dynasty throughout its recorded history.

The case of Alexander's family well illustrates the difficulty of escaping from disastrous amphimetric polygamy: no-one could have been better aware of the tensions and dangers inherent in the system than Alexander himself, after his own experiences with Attalus, yet he went on to construct an amphimetric, polygamous family of his own of a traditional Argead type, albeit employing oriental women. It is particularly remarkable that Alexander explicitly showed himself aware of the nature of amphimetricism. He had encouraged his army, nobles and ranks alike, to follow his own example and marry Asian women in the course of the campaign.⁵⁷ When, after the Opis mutiny, he decided to send 10,000 veterans home, he bade them leave their Asian wives and children behind, lest they should become a source of discord with the children they had left behind at home and their mothers.⁵⁸

Notes

¹ Note that Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 397 has Philip refer to his son's 'so many marriages (*tosoutous gamōn gamous*)'.

² Athenaeus 303b and 435a; cf. O'Brien 1992, 57–8 and Ogden 1996b, 122.

³ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.14–15, Plutarch *Pelopidas* 34.2 and *Alexander* 72, Diodorus 17.37.5–6, Aelian *Varia historia* 8.8, 12.7, Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 397 and Justin 12.12.11; cf. Berve 1926 no. 357 and Heckel 1992, 65–90.

⁴ Curtius 7.9.19.

⁵ Plutarch *Alexander* 67.3 and Athenaeus 603b; cf. Berve 1926 no. 195.

⁶ Athenaeus 435a.

⁷ Pseudo-Callisthenes *Alexander Romance* 3.18.

⁸ Arrian *Anabasis* 1.23.8.

⁹ Curtius 8.10.35, Justin 12.7.9–11 and Orosius 3.19.1; cf. Berve 1926 no. 435 and Tarn 1948, ii 323–4.

¹⁰ Plutarch *Alexander* 46, Diodorus 17.77.1–3, Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F16, Curtius 6.5.24–32, Justin 12.3.5–7; cf. Arrian *Anabasis* 7.13.2–3; see Brunt 1976 appendix 21 and Lane Fox 1973, 276 and 531.

¹¹ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11), Plutarch *Alexander* 38, Diodorus 17.72 and Curtius 5.7.3–11; see Berve 1926 no. 359, Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14723 and Lane Fox 1973, 262–4 and 529.

¹² Diodorus 17.66.6, Justin 12.3.10 and Curtius 6.6.8; cf. also Heraclides of Cyme *FGH* 689 F1; see Brosius 1996, 1 and 31–4.

¹³ Diodorus 17.16; cf. Tarn 1948, ii 335–6, Lane Fox 1973, 89–90 and 513, Brunt 1975, 28–9, and O'Brien 1992, 56. For Parmenion generally see now Heckel 1992, 13–23.

¹⁴ Plutarch *Eumenes* 1; cf. Berve 1926 nos. 152 and 206, Lane Fox 1973, 50, 176 and 509, and Brunt 1975, 23–7.

¹⁵ Plutarch *Alexander* 21.4 = Aristobulus *FGH* 139 F11.

¹⁶ See Liddell, Scott and Jones s.v. *haptō* iii.5, 'have sex with a woman'; the word generally has a connotation of seizing; cf. Tarn 1948, ii 356.

¹⁷ Thus Brunt 1975, 28 and, importantly, Brosius 1996, 78 (for whom the legitimacy of Barsine's son Heracles is not even at issue). Against this view see Brunt 1975, 33 (sic), Tarn 1948, ii 336, Greenwalt 1984, 70 and 1989, 22, Bosworth 1988, 64, Green 1990, 6–7 and 28, Heckel 1992, 146 and 203, O'Brien 1992, 58–9, Carney 1993, 319, Ellis 1994, 25, and Whitehorne 1994, 71, all of whom either brand Heracles as 'illegitimate', or reduce his mother to the status of concubine.

¹⁸ Curtius 3.13.12–14 and Justin 11.10.2; cf. Brosius 1996, 87–8.

¹⁹ Diodorus 20.20.2; *pace* Justin 14.6, 14.13 and 15.2.3.

²⁰ Diodorus 18.2.1, 18.9.1, 19.52.4 and 19.105; cf. Brunt 1975, 28 and 31.

²¹ Justin 13.2.7; cf. Brunt 1975, 31–2.

²² The claim is found at Berve 1926 nos. 206 and 353, Lane Fox 1973, 138 and 176, Brunt 1975, 29 and Lauffer 1978, 134. One would have expected Barsine to have been 'married' before she could have been 'repudiated'.

²³ Arrian *Anabasis* 4.17.3 and Curtius 8.11.9; cf. Lane Fox 1973, 299 and 317–18 and Brunt 1975, 29, with Badian as cited there.

²⁴ Arrian 4.19.5–6 and 4.20.4, Plutarch *Alexander* 47 and *Moralia* 332e and 338d, Strabo C517, Curtius 8.4.21–30, Diodorus 17.30, 18.3.3, Justin 12.15.9 and 13.2.5–9. On Roxane's provenance see Berve 1926 nos. 587 and 688.

²⁵ Curtius 8.4.21–30. The ritual is brilliantly explained by Renard and Servais 1955 with many Graeco-Macedonian parallels, superseding Schwartz 1906, 82 n. 33 and *pace* Lane Fox 1973, 317 and 535. However, Renard and Servais beg many questions (at 29–30) when they argue that ‘one would never have worried about the child Roxane was carrying after the death of Alexander, if one was dealing with a mere bastard’.

²⁶ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.7.

²⁷ Lucian *Herodotus* 4–6; cf. *Eikones* 7.

²⁸ Curtius 8.4.21–30 and 8.5.7; cf. Renard and Servais 1955, 33 and Lane Fox 1973, 317.

²⁹ Robinson 1936, 92, Renard and Servais 1955, 33, Lane Fox 1973, 317 and 535, and Bosworth 1980, 11.

³⁰ *Metz Epitome* 28–31 (Thomas 1966) and Diodorus 17 index λ’.

³¹ *Metz Epitome* 70; cf. Lane Fox 1973, 375 and 538.

³² Pseudo-Callisthenes *Alexander Romance* 3.32, *Metz Epitome* 101–2, 110 and 112; cf. Berve 1926 no. 688 and Lane Fox 1973, 466–7.

³³ Justin 13.2.5; but Curtius 10.6.9 says six months; see also Arrian *Successors* FGH 156 F9 for the birth of Alexander IV; cf. Errington 1970, 58.

³⁴ Arrian *Anabasis* 2.25.1–3 and Curtius 4.5.1 and 4.11.15; cf. Diodorus 54.2, Plutarch *Alexander* 29 and Justin 11.12.3; see Bosworth 1980– ad loc., with observations on Parmenion’s role as spurned advisor, and *pace* Tarn 1948, ii 336.

³⁵ Arrian *Anabasis* 2.12.3–23, Plutarch *Alexander* 20–1, Diodorus 35.5 and 37.3–5 and Curtius 3.11–2; cf. O’Brien 1992, 57.

³⁶ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4–8; cf. Diodorus 17.107.6, Plutarch *Alexander* 70 and *Moralia* 329de and 338d, Justin 12.10.9–10, Memnon FGH 434 F4.4 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 5; see Berve 1926 no. 722, Lane Fox 1973, 474, O’Brien 1992, 197–201 (with notes and further sources) and Brosius 1996, 77–9.

³⁷ Plutarch *Alexander* 30.1–2; cf. Brosius 1996, 68 and 88.

³⁸ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4; see, importantly, Brosius 1996, 76–7 n. 68 and 185 for a similar solution. The problem is also discussed by Tarn 1948, ii 334, Lane Fox 1973, 418, Brunt 1975, 26; Berve 1926 no. 722 and Heckel 1978, 56 take a different view.

³⁹ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.7 and Chares of Mytilene FGH 125 F4; see Bosworth 1980, 11 n. 91 and Brosius 1996, 79.

⁴⁰ Herodotus 3.88.2–3.

⁴¹ Herodotus 1.107.1 and Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1.2.1.

⁴² Herodotus 3.2.1, who rejects the notion. For all this Persian material see Brosius 1996, 30, 36, 47, 60, 62, 81, 193–4 and 204–5.

⁴³ Curtius 10.6.1–10.7.11; cf. Brunt 1975 for the derivation from Hieronymus; Hornblower 1981, 89 n. 52 is less sure.

⁴⁴ Diodorus 17.117.3 and 18.2.4. Curtius 10.5.4 and 10.6.4, Justin 12.15.12 and Nepos *Eumenes* 2.1; cf. Errington 1970, 49, Hammond 1989b, 159–60, Heckel 1992, 144 and O’Brien 1992, 225.

⁴⁵ *Testamentum Alexandri* 112 (at Merkelbach 1954, 241); cf. Lane Fox 1973, 467 and Heckel 1992, 144.

⁴⁶ Diodorus 18.23.2; cf. Errington 1970, 58–9.

⁴⁷ See also Justin 13.2.5; cf. Errington 1970, 50–1 and Heckel 1992, 145–6.

⁴⁸ Cf. Heckel 1992, 150 and Carney 1993, 321 (who compares the tale of Amestris at Herodotus 9.108–16).

⁴⁹ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4.

⁵⁰ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.6; cf. Berve 1926 no. 544 and Heckel 1992, 232.

⁵¹ Justin 13.26; cf. Brunt 1975, 31–2.

⁵² Errington 1970, 50 and Brunt 1975, 32.

⁵³ Diodorus 20.20 and 28.

⁵⁴ Diodorus 19.19.4 and 69.1, Plutarch *Eumenes* 18; cf. Brunt 1975, 32.

⁵⁵ Cf. Errington 1970, 50–1.

⁵⁶ Diodorus 18.22–4; a shorter version at Justin 13.3.1–2; cf. Arrian *Successors FGH* 156 F1.1.

⁵⁷ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.7–8, Chares *FGH* 125 F4 and Justin 12.4.2–10.

⁵⁸ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.12.2. See Ogden 1996a, 326 with further references; for Alexander's possible purposes in encouraging the siring of the 'mixed-race' children, see O'Brien 1992, 199.

Chapter 3

CASSANDER AND LYSIMACHUS

The chaotic period of the Succession witnessed, in addition to the births of the 'big four' hellenistic dynasties that we will consider in subsequent chapters, the emergence of two would-be dynasties of particular interest, both of which collapsed after a generation for predominantly internal reasons. The collapse of the family of Lysimachus is of the greater importance, for it constitutes one of the most graphic examples of amphimetric strife from the entire hellenistic world. But the collapse of the family of Cassander is also of interest precisely because it constitutes one of the two clear exceptions to the amphimetric rule (alongside the feud of the Seleucids Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax), in that the feud that undid it was apparently between full brothers. Consideration of this curious dispute will, however, shed some light on the more familiar amphimetric ones.

The family of Cassander

Thessalonice

Philip IV

Antipater

Alexander V ('of Macedon')

The elder Antipater was left as regent of Macedon when Alexander set off for his Persian expedition, and retained control of the country after Alexander's death. When he died in 319/8 his power passed to his son Cassander,¹ who apparently declared himself 'king' in 305, in the wake of the declarations of Antigonus and Demetrius, and alongside those of Seleucus and Ptolemy.²

We are frustratingly short of information about the family of Antipater himself: we know nothing of his wife or wives, by whom he had at least eleven children. Obviously we cannot know whether there was polygamy here, but it would be preferable to view that institution as a royal prerogative. His known sons were seven: Cassander, Iolaus,³ Alexarchus,⁴ Nicanor,⁵ Perilaus,⁶ Philip⁷ and Pleistarchus.⁸ His known daughters were four. An anonymous one married Alexander of Lyncestis.⁹ Three others were married to Successors in 322: Phila to

Craterus,¹⁰ subsequently to become wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes;¹¹ Nicaea to Perdicas,¹² subsequently to become wife of Lysimachus;¹³ and Eurydice to Ptolemy Soter.¹⁴

The *Suda* tells that Antipater was 79 when he died,¹⁵ which would put his birth in 398. Cassander, however, was only born *c.* 350. This causes a problem for Beloch, who assumes that Cassander must have been the eldest of Antipater's sons from the fact of his succession: why did Antipater not produce his first son until he was almost 50? Beloch's solution is to suppose that the *Suda* got it wrong, and that Antipater was much younger when he died.¹⁶ Another solution could be simply that Cassander was not Antipater's eldest son, but merely his most favoured—perhaps, if Antipater did have more than one wife (serially or concurrently), he was the eldest of a line drawn from one particular mother.

After his victory over Olympias Cassander married himself in 316 to Thessalonice, Philip's daughter by Nicesipolis of Pherae.¹⁷ Her value as legitimating his claim to the throne of Macedon was noticed by Diodorus, who also reports that Antigonus claimed that the marriage was forced upon her.¹⁸ Thessalonice is the only woman we can associate with Cassander. By her he had three sons: Philip IV, Antipater and Alexander V. Philip, the eldest of Cassander's sons,¹⁹ succeeded to the throne of Macedon in 297 upon his father's death, but then soon died himself four months later of a wasting disease (consumption?) at Elateia. He was unmarried and childless, as far as we can tell.²⁰ It was at this point that things started to go wrong:

After the deaths of king Cassander and his son Philip close upon each other queen Thessalonice, Cassander's wife, was shortly afterwards killed by her son Antipater, even though she begged for her life by her maternal breasts. The reason he killed his mother was that she had appeared to be better disposed towards Alexander in the division of the kingdom between the brothers after the death of her husband. The crime seemed all the more serious to all because there had been no trace of any cheating on the mother's part, although in the case of the killing of a parent no sufficiently just cause can excuse the offence. After this therefore Alexander sought help from Demetrius [I Poliorcetes] with the intention of waging war upon his brother in revenge for his mother's killing. Demetrius made no delay, because he hoped to invade the Macedonian kingdom. Fearing his arrival, Lysimachus persuaded his son-in-law Antipater to prefer to return to friendly relations with his brother than to allow his father's enemy into the kingdom. When Demetrius got wind of the fact that the brothers had begun to be reconciled with each other, he killed Alexander by a trick, seized the kingdom of Macedon, and called an assembly of the army to give an account of the murder.

Justin 16.1.1–9

Antipater's murder of his mother is reported by a number of further sources too.²¹ Pausanias similarly tells that Antipater's reason for killing Thessalonice was that she displayed more goodwill towards Alexander.²² Porphyry says that Thessalonice had been 'working with' Alexander.²³ Plutarch speaks vaguely of strife between the two brothers.²⁴ According to Plutarch it was Antipater who invaded Alexander's kingdom, with Alexander then in fact calling in Pyrrhus as well as Demetrius Poliorcetes to his aid. The former expelled Antipater from the kingdom.²⁵ Antipater then took refuge with his father-in-law, Lysimachus, who perhaps only at that point gave him his daughter Eurydice in marriage.²⁶ He was subsequently killed by Lysimachus himself, who also imprisoned Antipater's wife, his own daughter, Eurydice.²⁷ (Diodorus and Plutarch seem to have confused the death of Antipater with that of Alexander when they say that the former was killed by Demetrius.)²⁸ In the meantime Demetrius had come to Macedon, killed Alexander, and claimed the throne of Macedon for himself.²⁹ The three sons of Cassander had controlled Macedon for a total of three years and six months, and were all dead by 294.³⁰

The first curiosity about this sequence of events is the partitioning of the kingdom between the two younger sons, over which Thessalonice apparently presided. Which boy was the elder? According to Plutarch and Pausanias it was Antipater;³¹ according to Porphyry, it was Alexander.³² As Beloch notes, the events make better sense if Antipater was the elder: the elder son would naturally have expected the kingdom to pass to him in its entirety by primogeniture. In partitioning the kingdom the mother could then be seen *ipso facto* as unfairly cheating the elder son and benefiting the younger, despite Justin's assertion that there had been no cheating by Thessalonice in the apportionment itself.³³ Hence, Antipater, as the elder son, may have murdered his mother out of resentment.³⁴ Macurdy and Carney speculate that Thessalonice may have been acting as a 'regent' for an Alexander still in his minority;³⁵ Hammond and Walbank that she was acting as regent for both sons.³⁶ Carney separately speculates that the confusion about their relative seniority may have arisen because the brothers were twins.³⁷

Another argument of Beloch's is less compelling. He notes that in a traditional Greek family one might have expected the first son to have been named for his paternal grandfather, and the second for his maternal. In the case of Cassander's children, however, he argues that this order was reversed because of the prestige of the maternal grandfather Philip, so that 'Antipater' can be seen as Cassander's second

son.³⁸ But one might then counter that if the Argeads were considered exceptionally prestigious, they could also have provided the name for Cassander's second son—i.e. 'Alexander'. Or we could go further still down this route and suggest that the names of Philip and Alexander clearly marked them out as being descendants of the Argead family, and therefore as being born of Thessalonice, whereas the name of Antipater, being non-Argead, suggests that he was born of a different mother. This would reduce the dispute between Antipater on the one side and Alexander and Thessalonice on the other to a familiarly amphimetric one. But this is, however, to do great violence to the evidence, which explicitly states that in killing Thessalonice Antipater killed his own mother.³⁹

This was the end of Cassander's family: Antipater appears to have left no children from his marriage to Lysimachus' daughter Eurydice,⁴⁰ and Alexander V appears to have left no children from his marriage to Ptolemy's daughter Lysandra.⁴¹ Indeed, Justin notes that with the death of Antipater the whole house of Cassander was exterminated.⁴² Pausanias considers the immediate extirpation of Cassander's family, alongside the ugly nature of his own death—his body turned to worms—as an appropriate divine reward for his elimination of Alexander III's family:⁴³ he had killed Olympias,⁴⁴ Alexander IV and Roxane,⁴⁵ and (via Polyperchon) Heracles.⁴⁶ It was for these deeds that the Macedonians welcomed the replacement of Cassander's dynasty in Macedon with that of Demetrius.⁴⁷ This was not, however, the end of the house of the elder Antipater, since another Antipater, son of the elder Antipater's son Philip, sat on the throne of Macedon for 45 days after the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus in 279. He became known as 'Antipater the Etesian' (*ho Etēsias*) because this was the length of time for which the Etesian winds blew.⁴⁸

A dispute between full brothers and a son's killing of his own mother make this case an exception to the amphimetric principle we have established. But it nonetheless, like the amphimetric disputes, serves to illustrate the influence a mother could have over her sons: Thessalonice was able to preside over the partition of the kingdom in the first place, and it was no doubt the strength of her influence that paradoxically led Antipater to murder her in the end.⁴⁹ The similarities between this dispute and that between the Seleucids Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, the full-brother sons of Antiochus II by Laodice, are striking. In that case too a widowed mother for a reason obscure to us preferred her younger to her elder son and the result was again a partitioned kingdom and a bitter civil war. This illustrates

the strength of the expectation that primogeniture be observed within any full-brother line.

The family of Lysimachus

<i>Nicaea</i>	<i>Amastris</i>	<i>Odrysian</i>	<i>Arsinoe II</i>
Agathocles		Alexander	Ptolemy (of Telmessus)
Arsinoe I			Lysimachus
Eurydice?			Philip
Wife of Dromichaetes?			

The shortest-lived of the successor dynasties to the Argeads was the single-generation dynasty of Lysimachus, who at the height of his power was king of Macedon and Thrace. This dynasty was extinguished in a generation for the very reason that Lysimachus, having inherited the Argead pattern of undifferentiated legitimacy, foolishly proceeded to superimpose one amphimetric dispute upon another, so that chaos duly ensued.

In common with the other Successors to Alexander, legends of low birth attached to Lysimachus. Theopompus told that he was one of the Thessalian serfs known as the *penestai* who won high position at Philip's court through flattery.⁵⁰ In fact he was of noble Thessalian birth, but Philip made him a citizen of Pella (since there was no national citizenship of Macedonia, this was perhaps the strongest available form of incorporation into the Macedonian *ethnos*).⁵¹

Plutarch tells that Lysimachus was polygamous, as were most Macedonian and hellenistic kings.⁵² We may assume that he maintained his wives concurrently, since this was the custom of the other kings with whom Plutarch compares him. It has, however, been argued that Lysimachus was serially monogamous,⁵³ because Memnon explicitly says that Lysimachus 'separated from' (the word used is *diazugēnai*) Amastris in order to marry Arsinoe II.⁵⁴ We shall discuss this below. It must be admitted that the spacing of known marriages and offspring of Lysimachus is theoretically compatible with serial monogamy. Justin tells that he had fifteen children,⁵⁵ but of these we can identify only seven at most.

Lysimachus married the prestigious Nicaea, daughter of Antipater, c. 320, after Triparadeisos; at any rate the marriage is likely to have taken place prior to the death of her father in 319.⁵⁶ She was the recent widow of Alexander's own chosen successor Perdiccas, and by marrying her Lysimachus could claim Perdiccas' role by levirate. It is usually assumed that the son whom Lysimachus clearly initially cherished, Agathocles, was born of this appropriate mother:⁵⁷ he was said to be on

his first military expedition, which would indicate that he was in his late teens, in 297.⁵⁸ Memnon (quoted below) tells that he was the eldest of Lysimachus' sons,⁵⁹ and the fact that he bore the name of his paternal grandfather supports this claim. Justin explicitly says that Lysimachus initially intended him to be his heir.⁶⁰ This also suggests that Nicaea was Lysimachus' first wife, but if so Lysimachus waited to marry until he was relatively old. Most sources say he was 80 when he died in 281, which would make him around 40 at the time of his marriage to Nicaea.⁶¹ However, Appian makes him only 70 on his death, which makes him marry Nicaea at around 30, a more traditional age for men's first marriage in Greece.⁶² Lysimachus' daughters Arsinoe I and Eurydice are also presumed, for want of specific evidence to the contrary, to have been born of Nicaea. Eurydice was married in 294,⁶³ Arsinoe I in 285 or 283 (see below). It may have been from Nicaea too that the daughter was born whom Lysimachus gave to the Getic Dromichaetes in 294.⁶⁴

In 311 Lysimachus sued for the hand of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. This came to nothing as she preferred Ptolemy, but was killed by Antigonus before the union could be made; she was in any case beyond her child-bearing years (see chapter 4).⁶⁵

In 302 he married Amastris of Heraclea Pontica.⁶⁶ She was the daughter of Oxyartes and the niece of Darius, and had been married to Craterus at Susa.⁶⁷ More recently she was the widow of Dionysius of Heraclea, and was currently guarding the throne for her young sons by Dionysius. The inheritances of Darius, Craterus and Dionysius could be claimed through her hand, but Memnon declares the marriage to have been a marriage made for love. He indicates that Amastris was left based at and in control of Heraclea, but was later summoned to Sardis to be at her husband's side. The match would appear to have been an oddly matrilocal one. No children are known to have sprung from the union.⁶⁸ Although there are some difficulties with his text as transmitted, it is clear that Memnon told that Lysimachus then transferred his love to Arsinoe II and 'separated from' Amastris. Given the matrilocal nature of this union it would be wrong to build too much on this one particular case of separation. For what it is worth, Amastris is not known to have married another husband, which would have constituted a decisive break, before her murder by her sons Clearchus and Oxathres in 293.⁶⁹

Lysimachus also took an Odrysian wife, whose name is unknown. By her he had a son, Alexander.⁷⁰ Alexander was clearly adult in 281, the year in which he followed Lysandra when she fled after the killing of

Agathocles and in which he interceded with her for the burial of his father's body after his death at Couropedion. The Odrysian woman was therefore probably married *c.* 300 or before. Pausanias may preserve, very faintly, traces of an attempt to bastardise Alexander. He describes him with the phrase 'although (*men*) the son of Lysimachus, he was nonetheless (*de*) born of an Odrysian woman'. And the word Pausanias employs to describe his following of Lysandra into exile, *akolouthēin*, is a word regularly used of servants following masters or soldiers their commanders. However, as we have seen in the case of Argead Macedon, the man who buried the dead king asserted thereby a claim to be his successor (chapter 1). If Alexander was accused of bastardy, this was perhaps one way of striking back against such an accusation.

In 300 there came a realignment in the alliances between the successors to Alexander. In the course of these Lysimachus bound himself to Ptolemy,⁷¹ and as a result took two brides from him into his house. First, in *c.* 299, he himself married Arsinoe II, Ptolemy's daughter by Berenice, and the full sister of Philadelphus.⁷² From her Lysimachus had three sons: Ptolemy, born soon after 299, who acquired the surname 'of Telmessus';⁷³ Lysimachus, born in 298; and Philip, born in 295.⁷⁴

Secondly, Ptolemy gave as bride to Agathocles another of his daughters, Lysandra.⁷⁵ Plutarch and Pausanias (as quoted below) appear to be in error in synchronising this union with, or antedating it to, that between Lysimachus and Arsinoe: rather it took place *c.* 293.⁷⁶ Lysandra was the daughter of Berenice's amphimetric rival at Ptolemy's court, Eurydice, and was full sister to Ptolemy Ceraunus. Lysandra also had the advantage of being the widow of Cassander's son Alexander V, so that Agathocles could also lay claim to the throne of Macedon by levirate.⁷⁷ By bringing these two women into his house Lysimachus was superimposing an old Ptolemaic amphimetric dispute onto one of his own. The traumatic effects of the Ptolemaic dispute are manifest in the battles between the respective full brothers of Arsinoe II and Lysandra, Philadelphus and Ceraunus, as we shall see in the next chapter. Plutarch tells that Berenice had surpassed Eurydice in influence with Ptolemy by 301.⁷⁸ We may presume that their two daughters hated each other from before the time of their arrival in the house of Lysimachus.

A reciprocal woman went to Egypt: in 285 or 283 Lysimachus gave his daughter Arsinoe I to Ptolemy's 'crown prince', Philadelphus.⁷⁹

These hatreds erupted in the house of Lysimachus between 284 and

282,⁸⁰ as Pausanias explains:

Many disasters are wont to arise for men on account of love. For although Lysimachus was already advanced in age, although he himself was considered fortunate in his children, and although Agathocles already had children himself by Lysandra, he married Lysandra's sister Arsinoe [II]. It is said that this Arsinoe was frightened on behalf of her children, lest they should fall under the power of Agathocles after Lysimachus' death, and it is said that for this reason she plotted against Agathocles. And people have written too that Arsinoe fell in love with Agathocles, but that since her love was unrequited she plotted death for him. And they say that Lysimachus later realised what his wife had dared to do, but that it was no use to him, now that he was completely bereft of friends. For when Lysimachus conceded the killing of Agathocles to Arsinoe, Lysandra embarked upon flight to Seleucus, taking her children with her, and her own brothers... [The text becomes corrupt, but apparently includes some reference to an actual or prospective flight to Ptolemy.]

Pausanias 1.10.3–4

This and other sources make it clear that the received version of events was that Lysimachus himself had Agathocles killed, but that he did it under the influence of Arsinoe II. It can be read from Pausanias that Arsinoe II faced the prospect not only of her Lysimachan amphimetric opponent Agathocles coming to the throne in the place of her own children, and possibly murdering them, but also of her Ptolemaic amphimetric opponent Lysandra being mother to the future kings of Lysimachus' empire.⁸¹ A fragment of Memnon provides further details of the murder, and the consequent collapse of Lysimachus' empire:

Lysimachus executed Agathocles, eldest and best of his sons, because Arsinoe [II] pulled the wool over his eyes (Agathocles was born to him from a previous marriage). At first he attempted to do it secretly with poison, but since Agathocles kept making himself vomit, out of his suspicion, he made the shameless decision to execute him. He threw him into prison and ordered him to be cut down, falsely claiming that he had plotted against him. And Ptolemy, the man whose hand it was that spilled the blood in this act of pollution, was the brother of Arsinoe, and he had the surname of Ceraunus ['Thunderbolt'] on account of his wickedness and craziness. Therefore Lysimachus won the righteous hatred of his subjects for the murder of his son. Seleucus realised this, and that it was easy to undermine his empire, since the cities were revolting from him, and he joined battle with him. Lysimachus fell in war, struck with a shield, and the man who struck him was a man of Heraclea, by the name of Malakon, one of Seleucus' men. After Lysimachus had fallen, his empire came over to Seleucus and became part of his.

Memnon *FGH* 434 F6.6–7⁸²

Many scholars consider it incredible that Ptolemy Ceraunus should have been involved in the death of Agathocles, even granted his famously violent personality, and it has been suspected that Memnon's text is corrupt.⁸³ We may add a further reason for doubt: that Ceraunus should have aided Arsinoe II against Lysandra grievously violates amphimetric principles, for he would have been helping his amphimetric half-sister against his own full sister, whereas we would have expected the opposite. Rather, Ceraunus' subsequent murder of Arsinoe II's children by Lysimachus (for which see chapter 4) better exemplifies the relationship we would have expected to subsist between them. A solution lies ready to hand. The person that we would before all have expected to co-operate with Arsinoe II in this amphimetric dispute, and the person who stood to gain not merely most but everything from the death of Agathocles, was her own son Ptolemy ('of Telmessus'), who at the time of the killing had recently arrived at adulthood. Perhaps Memnon misidentified the Ptolemy mentioned in his source, Nymphis.⁸⁴ Such a mistake is understandable: Ceraunus did after all go on to murder not only some of the sons of Arsinoe II, but Seleucus I himself.

Can there be any truth in Pausanias' colourful detail, evocative of the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus,⁸⁵ that Arsinoe II had offered love to Agathocles and been spurned? Perhaps she had hoped to become his wife upon his accession, as Amyntas III's Eurydice had become the wife of Ptolemy of Alorus, and as in Syria Stratonice, wife of Seleucus I, had recently (294) been handed on *inter vivos* to be bride of his son and designated heir Antiochus I (see chapter 5). She may have (mistakenly perhaps) seen this as a way of securing the future of her existing sons, or as a way of becoming mother to further sons (if she were not too old) whom Agathocles would permit to succeed him. This was a possibility if she could oust the hated line of Lysandra, as her own mother Berenice had contrived to oust the line of Lysandra's mother Eurydice at Ptolemy's court (see chapter 4). If there is any truth to the detail that Agathocles plotted against his father, it will doubtless have been primarily in response to the perceived threat from Arsinoe II. Lund also makes a plausible case for Agathocles feeling aggrieved at not receiving a formal share of his father's power, when Seleucus I had associated Antiochus I in his rule in 294 and Ptolemy I had abdicated in favour of Philadelphus in 285 (see chapters 4 and 5). Again we might point to pressure from Arsinoe II as the reason for this. A claim to authority by Agathocles that his father may have found unwelcome might be seen in his naming of a city after

himself, Agathopolis, and in his possible minting of coins showing his own image wearing a diadem (a thing that Lysimachus himself had not done).⁸⁶

Lysimachus' folly is well encapsulated in an analogy devised by Plutarch to describe his view of pederastic love in relation to heterosexual:

This pederastic love would appear not to behave in a reasonable way, but, like a bastard (*nothos*) and illegitimate (*skotios*) child that is born to its father late in life, when he is over the hill, it would seem to drive out the legitimate (*gnēsion*) and elder love [i.e. heterosexual].

Plutarch *Moralia* 751f⁸⁷

Lysimachus' negligence in amphimetric and legitimacy practice brought his dynasty to an end: his friends abandoned him and his kingdom disintegrated as he died. Ceraunus went on to kill Arsinoe II's children, although the eldest, Ptolemy, survived to be ruler of Telmessus in 240. Neither Agathocles' children nor Alexander the son of the Odrysian woman are ever heard of again after their flight to Seleucus. The fate of Lysimachus stood as a warning of the perils of amphimetricism at the dawn of the hellenistic world.

Notes

¹ Diodorus 18.48.1; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 125.

² He is attested as 'King Cassander' numismatically and epigraphically, even though Plutarch *Demetrius* 18 claims that he avoided adopting the title; cf. Green 1990, 31 and 748 nn. 57–8.

³ Plutarch *Alexander* 74.77, Arrian *Anabasis* 27.2 and *Successors* FGH 156 F1.20 and Diodorus 19.11.8.

⁴ Athenaeus 98d–f and Strabo C331.

⁵ Diodorus 19.11.8.

⁶ Plutarch *Moralia* 486.

⁷ Pausanias 1.11.4, Diodorus 19.74 and Porphyry FGH 260 F3.10 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 235 Schöne.

⁸ Diodorus 9.78.6 and 20.112 and Plutarch *Demetrius* 31–2.

⁹ Justin 13.14.1 and Diodorus 17.80.2 (reading *Antipatron* rather than *Antigonon*). For Antipater's family see Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 126–7.

¹⁰ Diodorus 18.18.7 and 19.59.3.

¹¹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 14 and Diodorus 19.59.3–6.

¹² Diodorus 18.23.3 and Arrian *Successors* FGH 156 F1.20.

¹³ Strabo C566 and Stephanus of Byzantium s.vv. *Lysimachos* and *Nikaia*.

¹⁴ Diodorus 18.18 and 32 and Pausanias 1.6.8.

¹⁵ Suda s.v. *Antipatros*.

¹⁶ Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 125 and Fortina 1965, 8.

¹⁷ Diodorus 19.52.1–2 and 19.61.2, Justin 14.6.13, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.4 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 and *Heidelberg Epitome FGH* 155 F2.4. Justin wrongly identifies her as a daughter of Philip Arrhidaeus. Cf. Fortina 1965, 40.

¹⁸ Diodorus 19.52.1 and 19.61.1–2; cf. Carney 1988a, 386 and 390.

¹⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 36 and Pausanias 9.7.3.

²⁰ Justin 15.4.24 and 16.1.1, Pausanias 9.7.3, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne and Phlegon of Tralles (?) *FGH* 257a F3; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 127, Hammond and Walbank 1988, 210, Carney 1988a, 391 and Green 1990, 123 with 764 n. 25.

²¹ Thus Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 6 and *Demetrius* 36 and 37, Diodorus 21.7.1, Pausanias 9.7.3, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne and Orosius 3.23.49–51; cf. Fortina 1965, 119–20 and Carney 1988a, 391.

²² Pausanias 9.7.3.

²³ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

²⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 36.

²⁵ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 6 and *Demetrius* 36. The wording of the *Pyrrhus* passage certainly implies that at some stage Antipater and Alexander had control of separate provinces within Macedon; cf. Lévêque 1957, 126. However, Hammond and Walbank 1988, 211 argue that the ‘division’ between the brothers was merely one of power, not territory.

²⁶ Justin 16.2.4 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

²⁷ Justin 16.2.4–5 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

²⁸ Diodorus 21.7 and Plutarch *Moralia* 530c; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 218.

²⁹ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 7 and *Demetrius* 36–7, Diodorus 21.7, Pausanias 9.7.3, Justin 16.1.6–9 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne. The sequence of events is reconstructed by Hammond and Walbank 1988, 210–18.

³⁰ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

³¹ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 6 and Pausanias 9.7.3.

³² Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne; see Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 127.

³³ Justin 1.16.4, quoted above, and well remarked upon by Green 1990, 764 n. 27.

³⁴ Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 127–8, Carney 1988a, 391 n. 14 and Green 1990, 123.

³⁵ Macurdy 1932, 54 and Carney 1988a, 392.

³⁶ Hammond and Walbank 1988, 210.

³⁷ Carney 1988a, 319 n. 14.

³⁸ Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 127–8; cf. Carney 1988a, 391 n. 14.

³⁹ Thus Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 6 and *Demetrius* 36 and 37, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne, Orosius 3.23.49–51 and especially Justin 16.1.1.

⁴⁰ Justin 16.1.7 and 16.2.4, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

⁴¹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne.

⁴² Justin 16.2.4.

⁴³ Pausanias 9.7.2–3.

⁴⁴ Diodorus 19.35–6, 49–51 and 61, Pausanias 1.25.6, and Justin 14.6.4–12; cf. Fortina 1965, 39. Although Cassander had cast out Olympias' body without burial (Diodorus 17.118.2 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.3), an inscription reveals that her body was given a surreptitious burial by a friend or relative at Pydna, before being given an appropriate reburial under Pyrrhus: see Edson 1949 and Oikonomides 1982.

⁴⁵ Diodorus 19.52.4 and 19.105.2, Pausanias 9.7.2, Justin 15.2.3–5, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.3 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 231–2 Schöne; cf. Fortina 1965, 40 and 86.

⁴⁶ Diodorus 20.20.1–4 and 20.28.1–4 and Justin 15.2.3; cf. Fortina 1965, 87–8.

⁴⁷ Plutarch *Demetrius* 37.

⁴⁸ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.10 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 235–6 Schöne; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 128.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 214.

⁵⁰ Theopompus *FGH* 115 F81; cf. Droysen 1877–8, ii.1 147 n. 1 and Geyer 1894.

⁵¹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 233.4 Schöne, Plutarch *Demetrius* 44, Justin 15.3.1, Pausanias 1.9.5, Arrian *Anabasis* 6.28.4 and *Indica* 18.3; cf. Geyer 1930a, 1 and Lund 1992, 2–3.

⁵² Plutarch *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony* 4 (quoted in introduction); cf. Billows 1990, 9 n. 22. The most recent and accessible study of Lysimachus' family is Lund 1992, 184–208.

⁵³ Thus Geyer 1930a, 29, Seibert 1967, 93–6 and Lund 1992, 10, 88 and 185.

⁵⁴ Memnon *FGH* 434 F4.9.

⁵⁵ Justin 17.2.1.

⁵⁶ Strabo C565 and Stephanus of Byzantium s.vv. *Lysimachos* and *Nikaia*. Cf. Hünnerwadel 1900, 19, Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 127, Geyer 1930a, 3, Saitta 1955, 64–5, Cohen 1973 and 1974, 177, Will 1979–82, i 43 and Lund 1992, 186.

⁵⁷ But the belief of Droysen 1877–88, ii.2 275 that he was born of the Odrysian woman cannot be disproven.

⁵⁸ Pausanias 1.9.6–7; cf. Diodorus 21.11. See Wilcken 1894a, 18, Saitta 1955, 83–4 and 116–20 and Will 1979–82, i 100.

⁵⁹ Memnon *FGH* 434 F6.6.

⁶⁰ Justin 17.1.4; this is perhaps also implied by Pausanias 1.10.3, quoted below. I do not know on what Lund 1992, 186 relies in terming Agathocles Lysimachus' 'official' heir.

⁶¹ Hieronymus of Cardia *FGH* 154 F10 and Justin 17.1.10.

⁶² Appian *Syrian Wars* 64; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 129.

⁶³ Justin 16.2.4; cf. Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 232 Schöne; see Lund 1992, 94.

⁶⁴ Pausanias 1.9.6; cf. Saitta 1955, 89, Seibert 1967, 97–8.

⁶⁵ Diodorus 20.37.4; cf. Geyer 1930a, 6.

⁶⁶ Memnon *FGH* 434 F4.9, Diodorus 20.109.6–7 and Polyaeus 6.12

(emending *Mēstridos* to *Amastridos*); cf. Lund 1992, 75 and 82.

⁶⁷ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.5 for her marriage to Craterus.

⁶⁸ Polyaeus may make Amastris the mother of Alexander, but Pausanias' ascription of him to the Odrysian woman is preferable: see Wilcken 1894b, Geyer 1930a, 30, and Seibert 1967, 94–5.

⁶⁹ Memnon *FGH* 434 F5.2.

⁷⁰ Pausanias 1.10.4–5 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 64; cf. Geyer 1930a, 30 and Seibert 1967, 95–6.

⁷¹ See Saitta 1955, 81, Seibert 1967, 48, Cohen 1973 and 1974, 177–9 and Will 1979–82, i 88.

⁷² Plutarch *Demetrius* 31, Memnon *FGH* 434 F4.9; cf. Justin 15.4.24; see Seibert 1967, 74.

⁷³ Trogus *Prologue* 24 and Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 55; Ptolemy was presumably adult when he dedicated the statue of Arsinoe described by Robert 1933 within his father's lifetime; cf. also Lund 1992, 197–8.

⁷⁴ Their birth-years are extrapolated from their ages at death in 281, as recorded by Justin 24.3.5.

⁷⁵ Justin 16.1.19, Plutarch *Demetrius* 31 and Pausanias 1.9.6 and 1.10.3.

⁷⁶ We know from Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.5 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 232 Schöne that Lysandra was only married to her prior husband Alexander V in 297, so that Plutarch is probably wrong when he says that Ptolemy gave 'an unmarried daughter' to Agathocles at the same time as he gave Arsinoe II to Lysimachus, unless this is a reference to another, otherwise unknown, marriage. Pausanias is even more wrong when he claims that Lysandra had already borne children to Agathocles when Lysimachus married Arsinoe II. See Beloch 1912–27, iv.1 221–3, Geyer 1927 and 1930a, 29, Macurdy 1932, 56, Saitta 1955, 87 and 120–4, Seibert 1967, 75–6 and Lund 1992, 230 n. 52.

⁷⁷ See Seibert 1967, 74–6 and 97.

⁷⁸ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4.4.

⁷⁹ Theocritus 17.128 and Pausanias 1.7.3; cf. Seibert 1967, 78–9.

⁸⁰ On which see the remarks of Geyer 1930a, 21, Macurdy 1932, 57 and Green 1990, 132.

⁸¹ Cf. Saitta 1955, 138 for Arsinoe's motives.

⁸² Further sources for the murder of Agathocles: in addition to the passages of Pausanias and Memnon quoted, see Justin 17.1.1–9, Trogus *Prologue* 17, Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 233–4 Schöne and Strabo C632. These sources are subjected to source-criticism by Longega 1968, 44–54; cf. Lund 1992, 187–9.

⁸³ Thus Saitta 1955, 139–40, Heinen 1972, 7, Will 1979–82, i 103 and Grainger 1990, 178–9.

⁸⁴ Cf. Heinen 1972, 8–11 and Lund 1992, 188.

⁸⁵ Cf. Euripides *Hippolytus*; see Lund 1992, 189–90.

⁸⁶ Lund 1992, 196–8.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ogden 1996a, 20–1.

Chapter 4

THE PTOLEMIES¹

After a generation of typical Argead-style amphimetric strife in the Ptolemaic dynasty, the second king, Philadelphus, found a solution in sister-marriage and thus established a degree of stability in the family's legitimacy. Unfortunately, the highly endogamous nature of these now specially 'legitimate' unions meant that they became virtually infertile, with the paradoxical result that only those non-endogamous children now successfully differentiated and defined as 'bastard' survived long enough to be able to succeed to the throne. The supreme authorisation of the Ptolemaic princesses as bearers of legitimate offspring, a development closely associated with the institution of sister-marriage, led to an inversion of the familiar dispute pattern: quarrels now typically occurred between the lines of children born of one mother but sired by different fathers. The increasing tendency to derive legitimacy from the mother rather than the father found its logical conclusion in the installation of Caesarion as heir to the throne of Egypt: he was born of a Ptolemaic princess, but was an adulterine bastard with no paternal claim to the throne whatsoever.

Ptolemy as the bastard son of Philip

A number of Alexander's Successors were, like Lysimachus, themselves represented as being of low or bastard birth. This is not best explained with reference to amphimetric disputes. The first Ptolemy, officially the son of Lagos, was represented as the bastard son of Philip II. The *Suda* tells that Lagos exposed the adulterine bastard his wife Arsinoe foisted upon him, but that the child was nurtured by an eagle, the bird of Zeus, patron of kings;² Pausanias tells that Philip impregnated Arsinoe and then handed her over in marriage to Lagos,³ and Curtius' remark on his origin perhaps assumes a similar tale.⁴ It is most likely that this fabrication originated not in a competitor's attempt to delegitimize Ptolemy, but rather, paradoxically, in his own attempt to derive legitimacy for his position as inheritor of at least a part of Philip's and Alexander's empire. The notion was almost certainly developed long after the death of Alexander, and perhaps as late as

306, when Ptolemy assumed the kingship of Egypt: it was not apparently available to him or to his detractors in the Babylonian debates over the succession to Alexander in 323. Theocritus may be referring to Ptolemy's supposed filiation to Philip when he names Heracles, the ancestor of the Argeads, among Ptolemy's ancestors.⁵ However, Ptolemy also claimed Argead descent through his mother, who may have been a cousin of Philip.⁶ Plutarch and Justin portray Lagus as a man of humble origin:

Ptolemy was making fun of a scholar for his ignorance, and asked him who the father of Peleus was. He replied that he would tell him 'If you first tell me who the father of Lagus was.' The joke referred to the poor birth of the king, and all were angry at it as tactless and inappropriate. But Ptolemy said 'As it is the part of a king not to endure being mocked, so it is the part of a king not to make mock.' Plutarch *Moralia* 458ab⁷

Prior to Philip, most Macedonians were obscure, so such a claim is not very significant, even if we take it at face value. But the notion that Ptolemy's parentage was obscure is more likely to reflect the application to him of a 'mytheme' commonly applied to rulers of exceptional power in the ancient Greek world.⁸

The family of Ptolemy I Soter

Thais

Lagus
Leontiscus
Eirene

Artacama

Eurydice

Ptolemy Ceraunus
Son ('rebel in Cyprus')
Ptolemais
Lysandra
Meleager (?)
Argaeus (?)

Berenice I

Arsinoe
Ptolemy II Philadelphus
Philotera

Plutarch twice tells us that Ptolemy I Soter (ruled 323–282, as king from 305) was polygamous, and in his *Pyrrhus* seems to imply that a range of Ptolemy's wives could be found together at the Alexandrian court (speaking of the year 298).⁹ His first two known marriages did not bear upon the succession dispute at the end of his life. The first of all was that to the courtesan Thais, who was notorious for allegedly having incited Alexander to burn down the palace at Persepolis. Athenaeus tells that she was married by Ptolemy (*egamēthē*).¹⁰ It is not known when he took up with her, but since Plutarch tells that she

travelled with him through Asia, it was presumably by about 335. She is therefore by a long way the first woman Ptolemy is known to have been associated with. That she was the first to bear him children is also indicated by the fact that one of his sons by her bore his father's name, Lagus, which would normally have been attached to his first born son; Lagus was old enough to win a chariot race in Arcadia in 308/7.¹¹ Another son by her was Leontiscus. His daughter by Thais, Eirene, was given to a minor king, Eunostos of Soloi in Cyprus (if, as Ellis thinks, this was immediately upon Ptolemy's assumption of the Egyptian satrapy in 323, then he must have known Thais from even before 335).¹² Since Ptolemy is not known to have produced children from any other source until after his marriage to Eurydice in 322, when he was 45,¹³ we may presume that these children were long considered his heirs by default. However, whatever the 'legitimacy' status of these children (they were, for Ellis, 'probably not legitimized', although the union had a 'quasi-legal status'; Eirene was 'legitimate' for Pomeroy, but 'bastard' for Bouché-Leclercq), Ptolemy did at least contrive to keep them well out of the succession dispute at the time of his death.

His second known marriage was that at Susa in 324 to the Persian Artacama (or Apama), daughter of Artabazus, one of the 92 marriages into the Persian nobility forced by Alexander on his Macedonian officers.¹⁴ No children are known to have sprung from the union, and it is usually assumed that the woman was repudiated or at any rate neglected after the death of Alexander, as may have been the case for all the Susan brides with the exception of Seleucus' Apama. But we cannot prove that she did not sit out her life quietly at the Alexandrian court. Tarn's notion that Ptolemy married an Egyptian princess upon arrival in Egypt has not found favour.¹⁵

The first of Soter's marriages that was ultimately material to the issue of his succession was to Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, in 322–1.¹⁶ Ptolemy is known to have had at least five children, and probably six, by Eurydice: Ptolemy Ceraunus, another son (the 'rebel in Cyprus'), Ptolemais, Lysandra and Meleager for certain; Argaeus is probable.¹⁷ Ptolemy initially expected to find his heirs from among these children, and Ceraunus appears to have shared this expectation. Pausanias tells what happened next:

If this Ptolemy truly was the son of Philip, son of Amyntas, he should know that he acquired a madness for women just as his father did, since, although he was married to (*synoikōn*) Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and had children (from her), he fell in love with Berenice, whom Antipater had sent with Eurydice to Egypt. He fell in love with this woman and sired children by her, and when his end was near he left

Ptolemy to be king of Egypt, after whom the Athenian tribe is named, the Ptolemy who was born of Berenice but not of Eurydice.

Pausanias 1.6.8¹⁸

There is no doubt that Berenice at some point became Soter's wife: an inscription of 299 affords her the title of *basilissa* (which should not necessarily be regarded as equivalent to 'queen'),¹⁹ and in 298 Pyrrhus found her to be 'the most powerful of Ptolemy's wives'.²⁰ By Berenice Soter sired first Arsinoe II, who must have been born by about 316, since she married Lysimachus c. 300 (but Ellis' apparent inference from the date of Arsinoe's birth that Berenice was formally married in 317 is unwarranted).²¹ Berenice's son Philadelphus was born c. 309.²² Berenice was also a relative of Antipater; she was the daughter of a Magas, the widow of a humble Philip, and either niece or cousin to Eurydice. She already had three children by the humble Philip: a son Magas and daughters Antigone and Theoxene.²³ It is hard to see what other advantage Ptolemy saw in taking on Berenice, and so love may indeed have been the cause.

It has more than once been hypothesised that Berenice was not the daughter of Magas, but a daughter of Lagus and sister to Soter.²⁴ The insecure basis for this hypothesis is a corrupt scholiast to Theocritus:

He speaks of Berenice the daughter of BAGA [manuscript K]/GAMAOU [other manuscripts] and wife of Ptolemy Soter. She was distinguished amongst respectable women. Scholiast Theocritus 17.34

Most scholars now accept Bücheler's relatively easy emendation of the corrupt name to MAGA, i.e. to 'daughter of Magas'. The fact that Berenice bore a son of this name is strong confirmation of such a reading. An original reading of LAGOU is much more difficult to salvage from the debris. It is also slightly curious that the scholiast should not comment on the relationship if indeed Berenice and Soter were half-siblings. But this hypothesis is worth mentioning because of its implications: it would mean that we should look ultimately not to Philadelphus, nor even to Ceraunus, as the inventor of sister-marriage in the dynasty, but to the compelling precedent of Soter himself.

At whichever point Berenice was married, Soter came to prefer the children of Berenice to those of Eurydice, and associated Philadelphus on the throne with him (in 285), two years before his own death. This brought the amphimetric crisis in the family to a head:

This Ceraunus was the son of Soter and Eurydice, daughter of Antipater. He had gone into exile from Egypt out of fear, because Ptolemy [I] intended to give the rule to his youngest son. Seleucus received him as

the unlucky son of a friend, and he nourished and took everywhere with him his own murderer.

Appian *Syrian Wars* 62

Contrary to the custom of nations [Soter] had handed over his kingdom to the youngest of his sons,²⁵ before he should become senile, and he had given an account of this action to the people.

Justin 16.2.7

Seleucus got control of Lysimachus' empire. Ceraunus himself was serving him, not in the role of some unregarded prisoner of war, but in a way befitting the son of a king, and he was held worthy of honour and consideration. He vaunted himself on promises that Seleucus made him that he would restore him to Egypt, his paternal kingdom, if his father should die.

Memnon *FGH* 434 F8.2

[Ptolemy Ceraunus] also begged for a pact with his half-brother, through the medium of letters. He said that he was laying aside his crime of the theft of his paternal kingdom, and would no longer seek from his brother what he would more properly have received from his inimical father. He fawned on him with his every skill, in order to prevent him adding himself as a third enemy to him, on top of Antigonus the son of Demetrius and Antiochus the son of Seleucus, with whom he was about to have a war.

Justin 17.2.9–10²⁶

Since Soter had at least two other sons by Eurydice in addition to Ceraunus, Meleager and the 'rebel in Cyprus', it seems that his preference for the son of Berenice was not motivated solely or simply by Ceraunus' supposedly violent and unstable personality (a reputation which may owe something to the propaganda of Philadelphus).²⁷ Why did Soter give an account of his actions to the people? Because they expected him to leave the throne to his eldest son Ceraunus in accordance with primogeniture? Because he had long been established as heir apparent? Because Ceraunus' mother was of higher birth? Or because he wanted the people to witness his decision and uphold it in Philadelphus' interest should the more numerous sons of Eurydice subsequently challenge it? Perhaps Soter's favour for his youngest son is another manifestation of the phenomenon identified by Plutarch, that of the particular fondness of old men for their late-born children. At any rate there seems little need to revive the theory of Strack that Soter was attempting by these arrangements to install a system of porphyrogenesis, 'birth in purple' (which would, amongst other difficulties, entail the awkward re-dating of the birth of Philadelphus until after 305, when Ptolemy first became 'King').²⁸

Despite the clear indications of Plutarch that Soter was polygamous, the absolute and relative legitimacy-statuses of Eurydice and Berenice and their children at the various points in their careers have exercised many scholars, with arguments turning upon such issues as whether it

was more proper to take 'wife'/'queen' or 'mistress' into battle (Soter took Berenice into battle with him in 309), or whether it was proper to give a 'bastard' daughter in marriage to a king (Arsinoe II was given to Lysimachus c. 300).²⁹ Some scholars insist that Soter must have eventually repudiated Eurydice, but there is no sure evidence for this. The only information of any relevance to the issue is Plutarch's that Eurydice met Demetrius Poliorcetes in Miletus in 287 or 286, where she 'gave away' her daughter Ptolemais to him in marriage (*ekdidousēs*).³⁰ This of course relates to a time at least thirty years after Soter began his relationship with Berenice. At one extreme Plutarch's information may mean that Eurydice had abandoned Egypt with at least one daughter, over whom she now exercised effective guardianship; she could have left thirty years before, in connection with the accession to favour of Berenice, or she could have left recently, in connection with the early stages of Soter's decision to privilege Philadelphus; she could have been thrown out or she could have left of her own accord; she could have left in the company of Ceraunus, or with him and Ptolemais alone, or with all her children. At the other extreme Plutarch's information need only mean that Eurydice was escorting the bride from the Alexandrian palace in which she herself remained, and that she was doing so as Soter's proxy (much as Mithridates II of Pontus was to use his trusted admiral Diognetos to carry out for him the physical handing over [*ekdosis*] of his daughter Laodice as bride to Antiochus III: see chapter 5). The union between Demetrius and Ptolemais had after all been arranged with Ptolemy himself long before, in 301. As we have seen, Appian suggests that the big rift between Soter and Eurydice and her line fell slightly later, in 285. Later again, during his brief reign in Macedon in 280–79, Ceraunus established his mother at Cassandreia.³¹

After the death of Soter the amphimetric struggle between the lines was to continue. Pausanias speaks of the period after Philadelphus' marriage to his sister Arsinoe II in 276:

Secondly he executed his brother Argaeus for plotting against him, as it is said. He was the one that had brought back the corpse of Alexander from Memphis. And he also executed another brother who was born of Eurydice, after discovering that he was making the Cyprians revolt.

Pausanias 1.7.1

Two men of letters resident at the Alexandrian court involved themselves in the legitimacy dispute between the two lines. Diogenes Laertius, quoting Hermippus and Sotion, tells that after the death of Cassander the philosopher and erstwhile tyrant of Athens, Demetrius

of Phalerum, fled to Soter's court and advised him there to give his power over to the children of Eurydice, or at any rate not to give it to Philadelphus. After Soter's death Philadelphus detained Demetrius in Egypt, until he died there by the bite of an asp.³² On the other side, the poet Theocritus retrospectively championed the legitimacy of Philadelphus. In his *Encomium of Ptolemy* he observes that Philadelphus 'resembles his father', whereas 'the mind of an unloved/unloving (*astorgou*) wife is ever upon an external man: children are readily produced, but they do not resemble their father'.³³ It is easy to read here an (admittedly implausible) argument that Eurydice's superb fertility was a testimony to her infidelity, her children being adulterine bastards. By contrast, the relative meagreness of Berenice's crop of children (to whom she is a 'great benefit') is a testimony to the love she shared with Soter, and to her corresponding fidelity to him. But in the same poem Theocritus curiously defends the rights of the first-born within a legitimate line.

In 308, a year after the birth of Philadelphus, Ptolemy was successful in his suit for the hand of Cleopatra, full sister of Alexander the Great. But the marriage was not accomplished, because she was first killed by Antigonos.³⁴ Such a prestigious union need not have upset the legitimacy structure of Soter's family, however: Cleopatra had already been of marriageable age as long ago as 336, the occasion of her first marriage, that to her uncle Alexander of Epirus, at which Philip had been tragically assassinated.³⁵ She was therefore unlikely to bear children after 308.

Possibly Lamia, who was to come to notoriety as the mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was originally a mistress of Soter. Demetrius found her amongst Ptolemy's abandoned luxuries after the battle of Salamis in 306.³⁶ She had apparently produced no children for him.

The family of Ptolemy II Philadelphus

<i>Arsinoe I</i>	<i>Arsinoe II</i>
'Ptolemy the Son'/'Ptolemy of Ephesus'	→
Ptolemy III Euergetes	→
Lysimachus	→
Berenice Phernophoros	→

Philadelphus (ruled 282–46) had so many mistresses that Theocritus called him 'amorous' (*erōtikos*).³⁷ Athenaeus, following the works of Ptolemy VIII Physcon and Polybius, lists eight mistresses by name, and claims to know of more.³⁸ We can put names to eleven in total. Among these Bilistiche was particularly distinguished. However, since

no offspring are recorded for any of these women, they need not detain us here (see Part II). It is hard to believe that none of these women ever became pregnant: perhaps the children they bore were systematically exposed by Philadelphus, who was in other ways to show himself single-minded in the construction of an effective legitimacy structure for his dynasty.

Philadelphus married two Arsinoes. The first (I) was the daughter of Lysimachus, probably by Nicaea the daughter of Antipater, and she was married in 285 or 283.³⁹ The wedding may be celebrated in a fragmentary *Epithalamium of Arsinoe*, perhaps by Poseidippus.⁴⁰ She is the only woman by whom Philadelphus was known to have sired children. At least four children are known: in addition to Ptolemy III Euergetes, his successor, a scholiast to Theocritus mentions a Lysimachus and a Berenice.⁴¹ To these we should also add a third son, an obscure figure known as 'Ptolemy the Son' (for whom see below).

Arsinoe I's position was undermined by the return of Philadelphus' scheming full-sister Arsinoe II to Egypt after the Agathocles and Ceraunus debacles. Philadelphus married her, perhaps in 276,⁴² and, as Justin tells, with public pomp.⁴³ Arsinoe I perhaps fell victim, like so many others, to Arsinoe II's ambition: we are told that having been 'discovered in conspiracy' she was exiled to Koptos in the Thebaid.⁴⁴ She appears to have lived there comfortably and to have enjoyed absolute authority in the area. Indeed a demotic inscription from Koptos contains the following intriguing reference to her as translated by Petrie:

Senu-she-sheps, the superintendent of the royal harim of Arsynifau [i.e. Arsinoe I], the *chief* [my italics] royal wife of the king...

Petrie 1896 no. 34 (at pp. 20–1; Petrie trans.)⁴⁵

This may suggest that despite the exile Arsinoe I was far from repudiated, and may even have enjoyed—in her own Koptos at any rate—a nominal superiority to Arsinoe II. We are reminded of what might be called the 'non-repudiation' of Laodice by Antiochus II (see chapter 5). (In a somewhat indirect way the two Arsinoes could be considered former amphimetric rivals, since the first Arsinoe was the daughter of Lysimachus by Nicaea, and the second had been a rival wife of his.)⁴⁶ At first sight it may appear that Philadelphus was courting disaster along the lines of his father in more or less replacing one highly authorised wife with another, but the circumstances were very different: in the first place no amphimetric children were sired to usurp the position of the first line (and perhaps it was never intended that any further children should be so sired); in the second place, the retirement of Arsinoe I and the marrying of Arsinoe II were themselves

part of an attempt to construct an effective legitimacy structure for the dynasty, of which Arsinoe I's children were to be the paradoxical first beneficiaries.

Philadelphus' notion was to use sister-marriage to create and define a specially authorised line of heirs. His precedent was to be very influential, and its effects were to be felt until the end of the dynasty.⁴⁷ Sister-marriage was to legitimate the claim of Philadelphus' children to be the worthiest of Soter's descendants to rule:⁴⁸ his children were to contain—in theory—50% of the blood of the founding Soter, no less than he did himself. Grandchildren of Soter not born by sister marriage would only have contained 25% of his blood. In Burstein's phrase, Philadelphus wished to 'unify members of his own line around his own person, and assert their right to the throne'; in Carney's phrase, Philadelphus was 'strengthening the claim of his immediate family group to be the only legitimate descendants of Ptolemy Soter'. Such seems to be the message given out by gold octodrachms minted by Philadelphus or his son Euergetes: on one side they display the double portrait of Soter and Berenice, and on the other the double portrait of Philadelphus and Arsinoe II (*Figs. 2 and 3*).⁴⁹ Philadelphus' main rival to the throne, Eurydice's son Ceraunus, had died in 279, as had Ceraunus' (probably) full brother and immediate successor, Meleager.⁵⁰ These men no longer challenged the position of Philadelphus and his sons, but others did, against whom such propaganda could still be useful. Another son of Eurydice, whose name is lost, was executed by Philadelphus for fomenting rebellion in Cyprus, and Argaeus, whose mother is unknown, but could well be Eurydice again, was executed for conspiracy.⁵¹ Both died after the marriage to Arsinoe II.

This was a particularly important gesture to make against the line of brothers to which Ceraunus had belonged, since Ceraunus himself had previously attempted sister-marriage in 280–79, in his case *half*-sister-marriage, to the same woman, Arsinoe II (we dismissed above the notion that Berenice I was half-sister to Soter):

Then, external fear put aside, [Ceraunus] turned his godless and criminal mind to domestic outrages and devised a trap for Arsinoe, his sister, by which he might deprive her children of their lives and the woman herself of the possession of Cassandreia. His first trick was to feign love for his sister and seek marriage; for he could not get at her children, whose kingdom he had occupied, except through a pretence of reconciliation. But his sister understood Ptolemy's evil purpose. So he told her, to her disbelief, that he wished to share the kingdom with her children; that he had taken arms against them not because he wished to snatch their kingdom from them, but because he wished to share it with them by his

own gift... So, fearing for the children more than for herself, and thinking that she could protect them by the marriage, she sent her friend Dio. Ptolemy led him into the holiest temple of Zeus, site of the most ancient Macedonian worship, and he took the altar in his hands, touching the very effigies and couches of the gods, and swore with the most unheard of and extreme curses, that he sought marriage with his sister in simple good faith, and that he would declare her queen, and that he would not insult her by keeping another wife, or children other than her children. After Arsinoe was filled with hope and released from fear, she held talks with her brother personally, and since his face and charming eyes were more plausible even than his oath, and he denied that he had any trick waiting for her son, she agreed to marry her brother.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and universal joy. An assembly of the army was summoned, and Ptolemy placed the diadem on his sister's head and proclaimed her queen. Arsinoe was delighted by the name, because she had recovered what she had lost on the death of her prior husband, Lysimachus, and she actually invited her husband into her city of Cassandreia, the desire for which had led him to develop the



Fig. 2. Ptolemy I and Berenice I.
Gold octodrachm.
British Museum BMC 7 PCG V
A21 obv.
© British Museum.



Fig. 3. Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II.
Gold octodrachm.
British Museum BMC 7 PCG V
A21 rev.
© British Museum.

trick. Going on ahead of her husband, she declared a holiday for the city in honour of his arrival, and ordered the houses, temples and everything else to be decked out, and altars and victims to be distributed all over. Her sons too, Lysimachus, sixteen, and Philip, three years younger, both of distinguished appearance, she ordered to meet Ptolemy in their crowns. Ptolemy embraced them eagerly and went beyond the measure of genuine affection in his attempt to hide his trick. When he had come to the gate, he ordered the citadel to be seized, the boys to be killed. They fled to their mother, and were slaughtered on her lap between kisses, whilst Arsinoe bewailed the crime she had brought about in the process of or after her marriage. She repeatedly offered herself to the assassins in her sons' place, and again and again folding her own body around those of her children, protected them and wanted to receive the wounds which were aimed at her sons. Finally, deprived even of the funerals of her sons, with dress torn and hair in a mess she was dragged out of the city with two slaves and went into exile in Samothrace, all the more upset because she had not been allowed to die with her children. But Ptolemy's crimes did not go unavenged, for the immortal gods punished his innumerable forswearings and bloody family murders, and shortly afterwards he was deprived of his kingdom by the Gauls, and was captured and put to the sword, as he had deserved. Justin 23.2–3⁵²

One of Ceraunus' purposes in making the short-lived and predictably ill-fated marriage may have been to bolster the claim of his descendants to the throne of Egypt by concentrating the blood of Soter in their veins. It is undeniable that Ceraunus had other objectives too in marrying Arsinoe II: the opportunity to murder Lysimachus' children, rivals to his own claim to the throne of Lysimachus, undoubtedly was one of them. The marriage to Lysimachus' widow could also have been construed as a levirate-legitimation of Ceraunus' claim to the Macedonian throne; this is an aim Philadelphus could have shared when subsequently marrying her himself.⁵³ It may have been Arsinoe who brought the idea of sister-marriage with her from Ceraunus to Philadelphus.⁵⁴ Since Ceraunus gained a number of immediate advantages of this sort in marrying Arsinoe II, we perhaps do not need to look further back for an explanation of the custom of Ptolemaic sister-marriage. A number of sources, however, do link the decisions of the two men to take on sister-marriage to Pharaonic tradition: Memnon connects Ceraunus' marriage with the Pharaonic precedent,⁵⁵ while Pausanias and other sources do the same for Philadelphus, and indeed credit him with the innovation.⁵⁶ But it is surely wrong to interpret Philadelphus' marriage without reference to the preceding action of his half-brother, although it should be conceded that since his marriage was to a full sister, it was more Pharaonic in style than that of

Ceraunus. If the two men were consciously referring to the practice of the Pharaohs, then perhaps they were aiming for a legitimization of their claims to the throne of Egypt that went far deeper than claims merely based upon Soter's paternity, and perhaps a native Egyptian audience was envisaged for this propaganda:

This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoe, his sister on both sides (*amphoterōthen*) and married her, doing something quite against custom for the Macedonians, but something customary for the Egyptians over whom he ruled. Pausanias 1.7.1

Pausanias' inclusion of the word 'on both sides' is pointed. Pharaohs, unlike common Egyptians, seem to have exercised sister-marriage as part of their distinctively divine nature:⁵⁷ just as the god Osiris married his sister Isis, so too Neneferkaptah, the son of Merneptah, married his sister Ahwere.⁵⁸ It was once argued by Kornemann that the Ptolemies took the practice of sister-marriage not from the Pharaohs but from the Persian kings, but his view has not found favour.⁵⁹ The influence of Persian sister-marriage will be more significant when we come to consider Seleucid sister-marriage (chapter 5). That said, the first Seleucid half-sister marriage probably took place in the late 280s between Antiochus I and a woman perhaps called Nysa. As we have seen, Ptolemy Ceraunus had sought refuge at this court in 282–1, and so could theoretically have been influenced by it. This is to say nothing of possible Argead precedents of half-sister marriage, an example of which may have been constituted by the marriage of Ptolemy of Alorus (any relation to Lagus?) to Eury noe (see chapter 1).

One reason for seeing Pharaonic precedent behind the Ptolemaic decision to take on sister marriage is the fact that, once the custom had rooted in among the Ptolemies, power came to be transmitted in a fashion that was effectively matrilineal through the princesses and queens, and this is also traditionally believed to have been a feature of the old Pharaonic system.⁶⁰ An interesting but not fully developed idea of Carney's is that the Ptolemies were not so much directly imitating the Pharaohs in adopting sister-marriage, as having this marital strategy forced upon them, as the Pharaohs had before them, by the geopolitical isolation of Egypt.⁶¹

However, Arsinoe II died without bearing Philadelphus any children, at some point before 270. A scholiast to Theocritus tells that Philadelphus adopted the expedient of 'adopting to her' (*eisepoiēsato autēi*) the children of Arsinoe I.⁶² The phrase used probably implies posthumous adoption.⁶³ The adoption is further confirmed by inscriptions.⁶⁴ It is possible that the union with Arsinoe II was all along

intended to be symbolic rather than sexual.⁶⁵ Such a union would presumably have been more acceptable to Graeco-Macedonian public opinion. Arsinoe II was already around 40 when they married, and so unlikely to produce children (however, sister-marriages were never to be very fertile in the dynasty). This may account for the comfort of Arsinoe I's internal exile: her treatment resembles that of Antiochus II's wife Laodice when he was forced to repudiate her against his will. If this was the plan all along, the children of Arsinoe I need never have felt under threat: there is no evidence that they were ever 'bastardised'.⁶⁶

A further indication that Philadelphus strove to promote his own line, that from Berenice, may be found in the posthumous honours that he gave to his unmarried full sister Philoteria, including the title *basilissa*, which denoted a special royal status, although not necessarily 'queenship' as we understand the term, and the construction for her of a temple, which she was to share with Arsinoe II. We can be sure that she was *full* sister to Philadelphus and Arsinoe, because Callimachus—surely significantly—applies the epithet *homodelphyn*, 'born of the same womb', to her in his *Deification of Arsinoe*.⁶⁷

Some Greek disapproval of the sister-marriage was voiced. Sotades told Philadelphus that he was 'thrust(ing) his stick into an unholy orifice'.⁶⁸ But the supportive Theocritus compared the marriage rather to that between Zeus and Hera in his *Encomium of Ptolemy*.⁶⁹ Perhaps he also took a cue from the Pharaonic model of divine sister-marriage here, and from the sister-marriage between the Egyptian gods Osiris and Isis. Diodorus was to explain native-Egyptian sister-marriage with reference to the cult of Isis, and to link the importance of the goddess to the power of the Pharaonic queens.⁷⁰ Soter had similarly married Sarapis, the god he had invented, to his sister Isis. It is perhaps significant that Philadelphus presided over the deification of Arsinoe II after her death (and indeed that of their mother Berenice).⁷¹

A problem remains in relation to one of Philadelphus' sons, commonly known as 'Ptolemy the Son'.⁷² This son is found in papyri as his coregent from 267–59, but in the final year it is struck out and does not reappear (as for example in the *Papyrus of the Revenues*).⁷³ He is usually identified with a Ptolemy, mentioned by Trogus, who revolted from his father, with a certain Timarchus, only to be killed by his own mercenaries alongside his concubine Eirene,⁷⁴ and with a Ptolemy, governor of Ephesus, mentioned by Athenaeus ('Ptolemy of Ephesus'),⁷⁵ and also with a 'son of Ptolemy' mentioned in some Milesian inscriptions.⁷⁶ If these identifications are accepted, it appears that this Ptolemy, who was surely the eldest son of Philadelphus and Arsinoe I,

was made crown-prince and governor of Ephesus, and then revolted from his father. We have no more evidence to fill in the context of this dispute, but it would not appear to have been over any matter relating to legitimacy. The trouble-making Arsinoe II had died long before his revolt. (Bouché-Leclercq dissociated Ptolemy the Son from Ptolemy of Ephesus, and made the latter a 'bastard' son of Philadelphus.)

The family of Ptolemy III Euergetes I

Berenice II (of Cyrene)
Ptolemy IV Philopator
Magas
Alexander
Nameless son: 'Ptolemy'?
Arsinoe III
Berenice

Philadelphus' precedent, artificial as it was, was to be so successful that virtually all subsequent Ptolemaic marriages were to be to sisters, and there were overriding reasons for those that were not. Ptolemy III Euergetes I (ruled 246–222) could not marry a sister, since the only one he had, Berenice, had already been used by his father in his famous act of legitimacy-warfare against Antiochus II: she had become the Berenice 'Phernophoros' that Philadelphus had imposed on Antiochus whilst forcing him to repudiate his existing wife Laodice, in 255 or 253. Laodice then contrived to have her killed in 246 shortly after Euergetes' accession (see chapter 5).

By the time of his accession Euergetes had acquired a bride with her own desirability: Berenice II, heiress of Cyrene, who brought him Cyrene as her dowry. Berenice II was not completely unrelated to Euergetes: she was the daughter of Magas, the maternal half-brother of Philadelphus. The betrothal of Berenice II to Euergetes was complicated by the episode of Demetrius the Fair:

At around the same time Magas, king of Cyrene, died. Before his final incapacity he had betrothed Berenice, his only daughter, to the son [Euergetes] of Ptolemy [Philadelphus], in order to bring an end to the rivalries with his [sc. half-] brother. But after the king's death Arsinoe, the girl's mother, designed to dissolve the agreement of marriage which had been made against her will. She sent envoys to invite Demetrius [the Fair], the [half-] brother of king Antigonus [II Gonatas], to come from Macedon, marry the girl and take up the kingdom of Cyrene, since he himself had been born of a daughter of Ptolemy [I Soter: i.e. Ptolemis]. Demetrius made no delay. He swiftly sped to Cyrene with a following wind. Confident in his beauty, with which he had begun to charm the

heart of his mother-in-law, from the first he behaved arrogantly and was insolent towards the royal family and the soldiery. Then he redirected his efforts to please from the girl to her mother. This development was at first the occasion of mistrust for the girl, and then of outrage for the common people and the soldiery. Therefore all turned their attention back towards the son of Ptolemy. An ambush was arranged for Demetrius, and assassins were set upon him as he was getting into his mother-in-law's bed. Arsinoe heard the voice of her daughter as the girl stood at the door and ordered that her mother should be spared. The mother briefly protected the adulterer with her own body. By the killing of Demetrius Berenice both avenged her mother's adultery, whilst keeping due familial loyalty intact, and followed her father's wishes by getting the marriage to Euergetes. Justin 26.3.2-8⁷⁷

This may be the 'brave deed' of Berenice referred to by Callimachus in his *Victory of Berenice*.⁷⁸ Euergetes had no other wife, nor any known mistresses, and all his known children derived from Berenice.⁷⁹ There was therefore no opportunity for legitimacy disputes of any kind.

The family of Ptolemy IV Philopator

Agathocleia

Son?

Arsinoe III

Ptolemy V Epiphanes

In adulthood Philopator (ruled 222-205) had but a single sister, Arsinoe, since Berenice had died as a girl, a cult in her honour being prescribed by the Canopus decree of 238.⁸⁰ He did indeed marry Arsinoe in accordance with the precedent set by Philadelphus.⁸¹ The date and circumstances of the marriage are obscure. It presumably occurred before the birth of Epiphanes in 210-209. The gap between the date of Philopator's accession and that of the birth of his one and only child (by Arsinoe at any rate) is noteworthy. Since Polybius speaks of Arsinoe's 'orphanhood', it is likely that she was merely a child at the time of her father's death, so that Philopator had to wait for her maturity.⁸² Another reason for the relatively late production of an heir by Philopator may have been the low fertility of his incestuous union with his sister, and this may also account for the fact that he could produce only one child from the union. This heir was Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who was accordingly the first true sister-born child in the dynasty. Philopator immediately associated him with himself on the throne.

Philopator's mistress Agathocleia virtually usurped his kingdom alongside her mother Oenanthe and her brother Agathocles, both also lovers of the king. Polybius accordingly observes that Arsinoe had to live with insulting and disgraceful behaviour all her life.⁸³ It is just

possible that Agathocleia bore a child to Philopator, who, if male, may be mentioned in a fragmentary papyrus.⁸⁴ Polybius tells that, as she was finally being lynched by the Alexandrian mob, she pleaded for her life by exposing the breasts with which she had suckled Ptolemy V.⁸⁵ If we are to take this as something more than a rhetorical flourish on the part of Polybius or his source, and more than the desperate invention of a woman facing death, it implies that, since she had milk, she had herself borne a child.⁸⁶ Since she had had milk to suckle Ptolemy V, her own child had presumably been produced shortly prior to his birth. And since she was the courtesan of Philopator, the obvious assumption is that Philopator was the father. Agathocleia may then have initially been Philopator's main partner before Arsinoe had reached maturity, which in turn may account for the sway she held over him. It is therefore a serious possibility that the confused fiasco surrounding the last days of Philopator and Arsinoe arose out of an amphimetric dispute. Agathocleia's clique dominated these last days, and it is almost certainly to the clique's machinations that we should attribute the claim found in John of Antioch that Philopator repudiated Arsinoe just before his death,⁸⁷ and doubtless similarly the claim found in Justin that Philopator actually murdered Arsinoe (whom he wrongly calls Eurydice).⁸⁸ The best source here is Polybius, who appears to have Sosibius the 'false regent' (*pseudepitropos*) kill Arsinoe after Philopator's death and then, alongside Agathocles, make simultaneous notification of the deaths of Philopator and Arsinoe, whilst falsely declaring that the regency for the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes had been bequeathed to them.⁸⁹ Polybius also ascribes to this clique Philopator's murder of his uncle Lysimachus, his (full) brother Magas and his mother Berenice.⁹⁰ Agathocleia and Oenanthe will be discussed further in Part II.

The family of Ptolemy V Epiphanes Eucharistos

Cleopatra I

Cleopatra II

Ptolemy VI Philometor

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon (Physcon, Cacergetes)

Ptolemy V Epiphanes (ruled 204–180) seems to have had no sister of his own to marry.⁹¹ In 194 the powerful Antiochus III took advantage of this situation and the continuing disorder at the Egyptian court in the aftermath of Philopator's death to impose his daughter Cleopatra I as bride upon the young king Epiphanes.⁹² By this time Epiphanes was at most 16. Cleopatra, who became known as 'the Syrian', was to be his

only known partner, and the only known mother of children to him. She theoretically brought Coele-Syria, a strip of land long disputed between the dynasties, as her dowry to Epiphanes (the Ptolemies had won it at Raphia in 218; the Seleucids had won it back at Panion in 200). Polybius indicates that the land was not ceded from Seleucid control, and that the gift was therefore fictitious.⁹³ A famous passage from the Bible suggests that Antiochus imposed Cleopatra on Epiphanes as a deliberate act of familial warfare:

He will resolve to subjugate all the dominions of the king of the South, and he will come to fair terms with him, and will give him a young woman in marriage, for the destruction of the kingdom, but she will not persist nor serve his purpose. *Daniel* 11.17 (New English Bible trans.)

Indeed Cleopatra did not herself destroy the Ptolemaic family, nor did she deliver it into the hands of the Seleucids.⁹⁴ However, during her regency after the death of Epiphanes the tension between the two kingdoms was relatively diffused. Philadelphus' imposition of Berenice Phernophoros on Antiochus II had been rather more successful as a spoiling operation against the Seleucids. Perhaps Antiochus III considered himself to be retaliating against this in some way. But, from a longer perspective, the imposition of Cleopatra can be seen as a kind of 'cause' or at any rate 'origin' of a serious debilitation of the dynasty, in so far as the many subsequent Ptolemies and namesake Cleopatras who drew their descent from her henceforth made a bloodbath of the family. Even so, the Ptolemaic dynasty outlived the Seleucid one, and indeed was able to make the last Seleucid princelets its puppets. (See further chapter 5 for a Seleucid perspective on these marital games.)

Interestingly, even though Cleopatra was not Epiphanes' sister, she was given the honorific title of 'sister' in some demotic documentation:⁹⁵ an act which affirmed that sister-marriage remained the ideal to which the dynasty aspired.

The generation of Cleopatra II and Ptolemies VI and VIII

HUSBANDS OF CLEOPATRA

Ptolemy VI Philometor

Ptolemy Eupator

Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator

Another son? (the Galaestes episode)

Cleopatra Thea

Cleopatra III

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physcon)

Ptolemy Memphites

Son? (implied by Justin)

The family of Epiphanes marks a turning point in the development of Ptolemaic dynastic structure. Not only does it herald the entry of the famous name of Cleopatra into the dynasty, but henceforth sister-marriage (or other close-relative marriage) becomes constant in it. Sister-marriage developed the contingent attributes of polyandry for the women, whilst the men largely remained monogamous (this does not exclude the men's use of now clearly differentiated concubines). Henceforth too the women of the dynasty came to represent the more stable element within it, whilst their male partners came and went. This new system was in some respects akin to a symmetrical inversion of the original system in which a stable male was surrounded by multiple relatively unstable female satellites. In this generation of Cleopatra II and Ptolemies VI and VIII we find a clearly defined and bitter dispute between the two husbands (albeit admittedly full brothers) of a single (full sister) wife. This inversion is recognised in the organisation of the family plan at the head of this section. This dispute was, if anything, even more pernicious than one of the amphimetric variety. The privileging of the princesses as specially authorised bearers of the next generation had other effects too: it delivered a great deal of effective power into the hands of the princesses, and it completely undermined the hitherto reliable bonds of loyalty and co-operation between full siblings. (Carney makes the interesting observation that sister-marriage contingently enhanced the power of princesses because it meant that they remained at home, where they could construct more secure long-term power-bases. By contrast, exogamous unions stranded them in the midst of strangers if not enemies, amongst whom it was difficult to construct influence, and for whom their lives were that much cheaper.)⁹⁶

After the death of Epiphanes in 180 Cleopatra I ruled as regent for her small children, but then died herself in 176, when her elder son, Philometor (ruled 180–45, with a gap) was still only 10 or 11.⁹⁷ In this period she perhaps constituted a formative influence on her children as a paradigm of female authority, an influence perhaps felt particularly strongly by her daughter, Cleopatra II. In demotic and some Greek documents of this period Cleopatra I is named before her son. Philometor, now under the tutelage of the eunuch Eulaeus and the freedman Lenaeus, married his sole and full sister Cleopatra II immediately upon his mother's death, it apparently being felt that he needed a queen to legitimate his rule.⁹⁸ Shortly before Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt in the course of the Sixth Syrian War Philometor inaugurated a joint rule with his sister and brother Physcon ('Pot-belly';

ruled 170–116, with a gap).⁹⁹ Polybius vaguely refers to the impending danger of war as the reason for this, but the precise rationale of the development remains obscure. One might have expected the formal association of Physcon in the royal power to have been accompanied by a polyandrous marriage to Cleopatra II. A marriage between Cleopatra II and Physcon did indeed eventually take place: Justin says that he forced marriage upon her in 145.¹⁰⁰ It is therefore usual to assume that Physcon was not married or considered married to Cleopatra II in 170. However, it is conceivable that the 145 marriage was a symbolic remarriage felt appropriate by Physcon after the intervening separation. It is frustrating that we have so little information bearing upon the immediate impulses towards this radical 170 development, which was such a momentous one for the future of the dynasty, and that the nature of the link between Cleopatra II and Physcon at this time remains ambiguous to us.

With Antiochus' invasion the joint rule collapsed, and Antiochus took Philometor off to Memphis, where, according to Porphyry, he had himself crowned, but nonetheless deigned to present himself as the guardian of the young king¹⁰¹ (many scholars dispute that an actual coronation took place).¹⁰² As the brother of Cleopatra I, Antiochus was Philometor's maternal uncle. Physcon and Cleopatra II were left behind in Alexandria. By 168 Antiochus had withdrawn, prompted, at least in part, by the embassy of Popilius Laenas.¹⁰³ Physcon was presumably chagrined at the return of his brother to the centre of power. Livy mentions that he had feared that Cleopatra might aid his restoration. But, whatever her involvement, a reconciliation between the two men did take place.¹⁰⁴ Henceforth the dynasty was in tumult, with each king alternating in power and in association with Cleopatra II, the Alexandrian mob arbitrating and Rome taking a strong interest. (A convenient summary of the complex relationship between the two reigns is provided by Porphyry.)¹⁰⁵ But Philometor eventually prevailed, and the kingdom was partitioned very much in Philometor's favour, with Physcon being confined to the principality of Cyrene; the Romans then took the opportunity to weaken the main kingdom further by ensuring that he was given Cyprus also.¹⁰⁶

The structural tensions inherent in the kings' joint rule are sufficient to explain this instability. Explanations have also been found in the contrasting personalities and policies of the kings. As for their personalities, Polybius and Josephus portray Philometor as mild:

He was a gentle and good man, if ever there was one among the preceding kings. There is a very strong proof of this. Firstly, he did not execute

any of his friends on any charge. And I think that no Alexandrian either was put to death because of him. Polybius 39.7.3¹⁰⁷

Physcon's contrasting brutality is manifested by his subsequent career, as we shall see. As for their policies, Reymond and Barns argue that Philometor was a Greek supremacist, whilst Physcon was a champion of the indigenous Egyptians.¹⁰⁸ If this was so, we are reminded of the alignment of the amphimetric legitimacy dispute between the Antigonids Demetrius and Perseus with a polarised foreign policy dispute on the Roman question (see chapter 6).

Amid all this tumult between her brothers, Cleopatra II's power, as sole sister, remained secure, a fact which doubtless further enhanced the culture of female authority in the dynasty. Indeed her equivalence in power with her brother Philometor may be indicated by Livy, who tells that in 168 after the expulsion of Antiochus from Egypt by Popilius Laenas ambassadors gave thanks to Rome 'in the common name of the King and of Cleopatra'.¹⁰⁹ Strack enunciated the principle that from Cleopatra II onwards the sovereignty could be regarded as belonging to the king's widow (or, perhaps we should add, quasi-widow, in the case of ejected kings) with the proviso that she take a male relative to govern with her, a principle which could be considered a development of the levirate one.¹¹⁰ It is therefore significant that Philometor should have used his own daughter Cleopatra Thea as a transferable 'king-marker' among the now decadent and competing Seleucid kings¹¹¹ (see chapter 5).

Philometor was briefly succeeded in 145 by his surviving son, the child Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator, with Cleopatra II as regent. His eldest son, Ptolemy Eupator, who had been associated in the kingship and made governor of Cyprus in around 152, had died, probably in the same year;¹¹² perhaps he was genetically compromised. But within a month of Philometor's death Physcon had returned from Cyrene and forced marriage upon Cleopatra:

And in Egypt, with king Ptolemy [VI Philometor] dead, his kingdom and his wife, queen Cleopatra [II], his own sister, were passed on to that Ptolemy [VIII Physcon] who was reigning in Cyrene, through the medium of ambassadors. Ptolemy was therefore delighted by this single fact, that he had recovered the kingdom from his brother without a struggle, a kingdom for which he knew that his brother's son was being groomed both by his mother Cleopatra and by the support of the courtiers. But he himself was hated by everybody. As soon as he set foot in Alexandria, he gave the order for the boy's supporters to be cut down. Physcon killed the boy himself too in his mother's arms, on the very day of the wedding by which Physcon took her in marriage, in the midst of the paraphernalia of

the banquet and the due rites. And so he climbed into the bed of his sister, still bloody from the murder of her son. After this he was no more sympathetic to his fellow people, who had summoned him back to his kingdom, since he gave his foreign soldiers the freedom to slaughter them, and everywhere flowed with blood each day. Justin 38.8.2–5¹¹³

Justin's account of this wedding accompanied by the groom's slaughter of the bride's child is suspiciously similar to his account of Ceraunus' murder of Arsinoe II's children upon his marriage to her (see above). This murder served two functions: it permitted Physcon to resume his place as king permanently, but it also, as the symmetrical opposite of an amphimetric murder, wiped out the rival line and so permitted his own line to succeed. In 139 Galaestes, an exiled former general of Philometor, produced a claimant to the throne, whom he claimed to be another son of Philometor and Cleopatra II. The boy seems to have disappeared from view when Physcon's general Hierax put an end to Galaestes' movement.¹¹⁴ It is unlikely that the boy was in reality any part of the Ptolemaic family.

The family of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon (Physcon, Cacergetes)

Eirene/Ithaca

Ptolemy Apion
Son (Justin)?

Cleopatra II

Ptolemy Memphites
Son (Justin)?

Cleopatra III (Coccē)

Ptolemy IX Soter II Lathyrus
Ptolemy X Alexander
Cleopatra IV
Cleopatra Selene
Cleopatra Tryphaena

Mother unknown

Berenice?

On his re-accession to power in 145 Physcon (*Fig. 4*) needed to get children from Cleopatra II quickly, since she was already at least 36. Ptolemy Memphites was indeed quickly produced in 144.¹¹⁵ Whitehorne



Fig. 4. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon. Silver didrachm.

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sees the Egyptianising king as attempting to reproduce the Egyptian divine family on earth, with himself as Osiris, married to his sister as Isis, and with them both as parents of Memphites as the Horus-child.¹¹⁶ However, in either 142 or 138/7 Physcon also married his niece Cleopatra III (Coccē),¹¹⁷ Cleopatra II's daughter by Philometor:

He also repudiated his own sister [Cleopatra II] after forcibly committing adultery with her virgin daughter [Cleopatra III] and taking her to him in marriage. Justin 38.8.5¹¹⁸

Cleopatra III of course belonged to exactly the same competing line as the young Ptolemy VII whom Physcon had just murdered, and so one would not have expected Physcon to be friendly to her, but he had nowhere else to turn if he wanted a bride of fully Ptolemaic blood. Why do the sources represent Physcon's initial union with Cleopatra III as forcible adultery or rape?¹¹⁹ It could be because of their mistaken assumption that he should have been monogamous. Or it could have been, as Whitehorne suggests, because Physcon insisted on fertility-testing the girl before formally marrying her.¹²⁰ But at this degree of incest it was hard to distinguish between rape and marriage, for Physcon was also Cleopatra III's guardian (insofar as Ptolemaic princesses could at this stage be said to have guardians), and therefore the one authorised to give her in marriage. Mooren is accordingly rather barking up the wrong tree when he asks whether Cleopatra III's first-born, Ptolemy IX, was 'legitimate'.¹²¹ One might see the main significance of the rape claim as lying in the fact that the union initially took place against the will of this scion of the rival line of Philometor. Philometor had actually offered in marriage or betrothed to Physcon one of his daughters in 154, after the latter's failed invasion of Cyprus, but the offer had been declined.¹²² It is not known whether the daughter offered had been Cleopatra III or Cleopatra Thea.

In taking on another wife Physcon may have been attempting to behave like a polygynous hellenistic king of the old school. If so, this was to be the last attempt to achieve this sort of family structure in the dynasty. But the situation may have been more complex. Justin (as quoted above), Valerius Maximus (as quoted below) and Livy assert that Cleopatra II was repudiated at this point,¹²³ but if this was the case, it was no ordinary repudiation: she remained *in situ* in Alexandria; she retained a 'queen' title (*basilissa*); she retained the honorific title of 'god, benefactor' (*Theos Euergetēs*). The demotic documents of the late 140s accordingly exhibit confusion about the relationships between the three individuals, with both Cleopatras being named in prescripts, but referred to under a range of differing conventions. By

139 a stable formula had been found:

King Ptolemy and Queen (*basilissa*) Cleopatra the sister (*adelphē*) and Queen (*basilissa*) Cleopatra the wife (*gynē*), gods, benefactors.

Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 141

Despite the fact that Cleopatra II is now described as ‘sister’ in apparent contrast to Cleopatra III as ‘wife’, this terminology need not necessarily imply that Cleopatra II ceased to be wife; by this point the term ‘sister’ may in itself have implied ‘wife’ also.¹²⁴ The Latin authors may have assumed that a repudiation took place under the influence of a monogamy fallacy of their own. Valerius Maximus at any rate explicitly links the repudiation to the marriage to Cleopatra:

After that he adulterously raped her [Cleopatra II’s] daughter [Cleopatra III] and divorced her [Cleopatra II], to make way for marriage to the girl.

Valerius Maximus 9.1 ext. 5

It may have suited both Cleopatra II and Physcon to fudge the question of their continuing marital status, however much they hated each other: Physcon’s initial claim to the throne may have been partially dependent upon his marriage to Cleopatra, and he may also have felt that by remaining married to her whilst marrying another woman he could reassert a more traditional polygynous structure in the dynasty. Cleopatra on the other hand partially depended upon Physcon as an adult male Ptolemy through whom to legitimate her own position. In the ambivalence of the relationship between Physcon and Cleopatra at this point we perhaps see the dynasty finely balanced between the cultures of sister-marriage and traditional polygyny. In view of what was to follow, it is at any rate probable that Physcon henceforth refused to have sex with her or to sire any more heirs by her.

Physcon probably took on Cleopatra III in an attempt to contain the power of Cleopatra II, and more specifically to do this by usurping from her the power of posterity: that is to say, he may have hoped to sire heirs more dependent upon himself than upon her, and thus bring the future of the dynasty under his own control, and, *ipso facto*, the major part of its present. In the reproduction stakes time was running out for Cleopatra II: born by 181 at the latest, she was coming to the end of her period of effective fertility in the late forties. And Physcon was himself the only adult male Ptolemy in a position to provide suitable impregnation. She may indeed have been eclipsed in power for a brief period in 142, when she was omitted from pre-scripts.¹²⁵ It may have been more than coincidence that it was in 142 that Physcon’s first child by Cleopatra III, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus

(‘Chickpea’), was born.¹²⁶ As Whitehorne sees it, Physcon had now constructed a new Osiris-Isis-Horus triad.¹²⁷

The foresight that Physcon had shown in taking on Cleopatra III and siring children by her was demonstrated when in 131 Cleopatra II managed not only to recover her standing but to expel Physcon from Alexandria. A cruel but simple expedient delivered the game into Physcon’s hands: he murdered the son they shared, Ptolemy Memphites:

He mimicked the savagery and bloodthirstiness of Medea, and slaughtered the son he had in common with her, in Cyprus, still a boy, called Memphites. Not satisfied with this outrage, he accomplished a second, far greater crime, for he chopped the limbs off the boy’s body, and put them in a box, and ordered one of his servants to take it to Alexandria. By chance, Cleopatra’s birthday was in the offing, and he had the chest placed in front of the palace on the night before it.

Diodorus 34/35.16¹²⁸

Physcon thus deprived Cleopatra II not only of a potential male with whom to share the throne in the immediate future, but more significantly deprived her forever of the possibility of passing the succession on to her own line, and rendered the Alexandrians dependent upon himself for their Ptolemaic blood.

Difficulties attach to Justin’s account of this episode:¹²⁹

He then summoned his eldest son from Cyrene (*a Cyrenis*) and killed him, lest the Alexandrians should make him king in opposition to himself. Then the people dragged down his statues and pictures. Thinking this was done out of support for his sister, he killed the son that he had by her, and tearing up the body limb from limb, he piled it into a box and had it set before the boy’s mother on her birthday, in the midst of her banquet.

Justin 38.8.12–13

Comparison with Diodorus’ account shows that Memphites was the second and younger victim here. If Physcon had an elder child by Cleopatra, he must have been produced prior to the 145 marriage. The existence of such a child would aid the hypothesis that Physcon was married to Cleopatra before this point. Support for the possibility that Physcon may have had more than one child by Cleopatra II may be found in an inscription which includes the phrase ‘on behalf of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra the sister, gods, benefactors, and their children’;¹³⁰ however, as will become clear in our discussion of the Antigonids (chapter 6), phrases of this sort referring to unspecified plural children should often be taken as formulaic and hypothetical. In any case, Justin’s phraseology implies that the first victim was not born of Cleopatra. Strack attempted to identify the mother of the first

child by emending Justin's *a Cyrenis* to *ex Eirenes*, thus making the historian tell us that Physcon killed his eldest son born by his concubine Eirene, who would have been a brother to Apion, but there is nothing implausible in the detail that he should have summoned a son from what had been his special principality, or indeed that Cleopatra should have made overtures to such a stepson in her search for a male figurehead for her power. Nonetheless, it is perhaps simplest to assume that Justin has cack-handedly produced in this tale a muddled doublet of the single murder of Memphites.

If we are to conclude from Justin's muddle that Physcon brought Memphites to Cyprus from Cyrene, then perhaps the boy was favouring his father against his mother. Cyrene, the principality Physcon had made his own during his exile, was very much his territory as opposed to hers. It is odd that Memphites should have favoured his father as against his mother when his father had subjected him to such amphimetric anxieties, and at a time when his dependable mother was manifestly the more powerful anyway. But such a favour on the boy's part appears to be attested by an inscription he erected in Delos at this time:

I, king Ptolemy, the son of king Ptolemy [VIII] Euergetes, make this dedication to Apollo, Artemis and Leto, for the sake of my gratitude towards queen Cleopatra [III] Euergetis, the wife of my father, and my own cousin.
Dittenberger 1903–5, i no. 144

In this remarkable text Memphites, who declares that he has been associated on the throne, ignores his own mother Cleopatra II altogether and specifically honours her rival, his stepmother. Memphites' fate was to reveal just how misguided was the choice he had made between his parents.

By Cleopatra III Physcon was eventually to leave a number of children: in addition to Ptolemy IX Lathyrus were born Ptolemy X Alexander, Cleopatra IV, Cleopatra Tryphaena and Cleopatra Selene.

Physcon had also had a relationship with a concubine, called Eirene or Ithaca, who appeared at the celebration of Ptolemy Memphites' birth in 144.¹³¹ She is often referred to by scholars as Cyrenean, but there is no evidence that this was her city of origin. Perhaps she was Physcon's principal partner before his marriage to Cleopatra II in 145; if so, she will have lived with him during his relegation to Cyrene. Most scholars assume that this Eirene/Ithaca was the mother of Physcon's famous 'bastard' (*nothos*), Ptolemy Apion. The *nothos* designation comes from Appian; Justin tells that he was the brother of Memphites, but born of a concubine (*ex paelice susceptus*).¹³² Apion may have been born after 156/5 when Physcon bequeathed his principality of Cyrene to

Rome in case he died without heirs,¹³³ for he was, it seems, ultimately to bequeath this province to Apion, who was to be attested as king of Cyrene in a piracy law of 101¹³⁴ (although the province had curiously been governed by Lathyrus in 109/8).¹³⁵ Physcon's purpose in making such a will was doubtless to protect himself from assassination by Philometor and Cleopatra II. However, such a clause could equally have been construed to protect similarly the lives of any heirs he already possessed.

Apion is the first of many later Ptolemies to be defined by sundry sources as bastard. Mahaffy thought such designations the invention of hellenistic historians in the interests of Rome:¹³⁶ yet Apion was pro-Roman and indeed bequeathed Cyrene's *chora* to Rome in 96.¹³⁷ Reymond and Barns speculated rather that they designated birth from an Egyptian mother from a hostile Greek supremacist perspective.¹³⁸ There is only one possible attestation of a union between the Ptolemaic dynasty and the Egyptian Memphite dynasty: a stele now in Vienna tells that in 120/19, under the reign of Physcon, Petobastis III, the future high-priest of Memphis, was born to Psherenptah/Psenptais II and Berenice, the younger sister of Alexander. This otherwise unattested Berenice may have been a daughter of Physcon. However, it is more likely that the pro-Ptolemaic Memphite dynasty was simply adopting Ptolemaic names within itself.¹³⁹ We cannot extrapolate from this union the assumption that the Ptolemies also *took* women from the Memphite dynasty and attempted to sire lines from them, which were then all reviled as 'bastard' by the Greeks. To accept an external bride is to admit inferiority for sister-marriers, which the Ptolemies continued to be.¹⁴⁰ As for Ptolemy Apion himself, his Egyptian-derived surname cannot be taken as indicative of his Egyptian descent, only of Physcon's Egyptianising tendencies.¹⁴¹ We cannot be sure that Eirene/Ithaca was his mother, but, for what it is worth, both of her names seem to be good Greek ones. However, it has long been realised that ethnicity cannot be derived from onomastics in Ptolemaic Egypt.¹⁴² More specifically, we may note that the Egyptian-born courtesan of Philadelphus was known by the Greek name Didyme.¹⁴³ Rather, the 'simple-minded' solution to Apion's designation as bastard might for once be the right one; perhaps the Ptolemies had at last achieved within their dynasty a stable differentiation in legitimacy-status between different kinds of union. Apion may have been a 'bastard' because not born of two parents of the Ptolemaic family. It is significant that he did not squabble over the throne with his half-brothers Lathyrus and Alexander.¹⁴⁴

Plutarch tells that in 152 Physcon had curiously planned to marry Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.¹⁴⁵ We can only speculate on the effect this union might have had on the structure of his family. Cornelia's eldest son, Tiberius, was born in 163, and so she was likely to have had some years of childbearing ahead of her yet in 152. He may have hoped that her family connections could help him recover his throne.

It is worthwhile to return briefly to an episode in the disputes between Physcon and Cleopatra II. In 128 Physcon contrived to force Cleopatra II out of Alexandria into Syria. Whilst there, she offered to make the Seleucid Demetrius II, who was married to her own daughter Cleopatra Thea (although he was at war with her), king of Egypt, which presumably would have entailed a further marriage to Cleopatra II herself.¹⁴⁶ This was to anticipate the final developments in the Ptolemaic dynasty, in accordance with which husbands, even non-Ptolemaic ones, were sought to serve as drones for Ptolemaic queens (witness in particular the case of Berenice IV).

The families of Ptolemies IX Philometor II Soter II Lathyrus and X Alexander I

FAMILY OF LATHYRUS

Cleopatra IV

Cleopatra Selene

Cleopatra V Berenice III?

Two short-lived sons?

Unknown (non-Ptolemaic?) mother(s)

Ptolemy Auletes

Ptolemy of Cyprus

Cleopatra VI Tryphaena

FAMILY OF ALEXANDER

Cleopatra V Berenice III

Unknown (non-Ptolemaic?) mother

Short-lived daughter?

Ptolemy XI Alexander II

Physcon died in 116 and curiously bequeathed his kingdom to his widow Cleopatra III and to whichever of their two sons she should choose to associate with herself.¹⁴⁷ This in itself marked another striking advance in queenly authority within the dynasty, albeit one that was not to be immediately confirmed by the people of Alexandria. Her preference was for the younger Ptolemy X Alexander, but the people forced her to accept the elder Ptolemy IX Philometor II Soter II Lathyrus (ruled 116–88, with a gap) instead, who had already been installed as governor of Cyprus. (Cleopatra II actually survived Physcon by a few months, and is found in one demotic prescript under the new regime.)¹⁴⁸ Lathyrus' reign was to be complexly intertwined with that of his younger brother in a fashion somewhat reminiscent of

the intertwining of the reigns of Philometor and Physcon. The account of Porphyry and particularly that of Justin provide the most convenient overviews.¹⁴⁹ On his father's death Lathyrus was already married to one sister, his 'dearest Cleopatra' (IV) in Justin's phrase, but Cleopatra III was able to force him to repudiate her very much against his will in favour of the younger Selene.¹⁵⁰ Here there is no question of an attempt at a traditional dynastic polygyny. (Cleopatra IV made for Syria via Cyprus, where she embroiled herself in the further struggles of the decadent Seleucid princelets.) But even Selene was not permitted the title of *basilissa*. By 107 Cleopatra had become tired of Lathyrus and was able to turn the Alexandrians too against him: she took Selene from him, by whom he had two sons, and forced him into exile, whereupon he fled to Cyprus. She was now able to associate Alexander on the throne with herself after all. Despite her preference for Alexander, he was to murder her in 101, apparently because he anticipated that she was about to murder him.¹⁵¹ He then married his niece Cleopatra V Berenice III, the daughter of Lathyrus. Alexander was expelled and died in 89, whereupon Lathyrus returned and ruled until his own death in 80. At first he ruled simply in association with his daughter Cleopatra V Berenice III, but he did ultimately marry her before his death.¹⁵² Daughter-marriage too had a pharaonic precedent in Akhenaten and Rameses the Great.¹⁵³

We are not given the identity of the mother of Lathyrus' daughter Cleopatra V Berenice III, who was to become wife to Alexander and then belatedly also to Lathyrus himself. In default of information to the contrary, we might assume that she was born either of Cleopatra IV or Cleopatra Selene.¹⁵⁴ This supposition is strengthened by Pausanias' claim that Berenice was the only legitimate (*gnēsia*) one of Lathyrus' children.¹⁵⁵ But Justin does tell us that Lathyrus had two sons by Selene by 107, and they must by any definition have been 'legitimate'.¹⁵⁶ Nothing more is known of these sons, who evidently did not survive to adulthood. Since Justin has nothing to tell us about any dynastic murder here (a thing in which he revels), it is probable that they died of natural causes, genetically compromised as they were. Perhaps they are to be identified with the children of a Ptolemaic 'sister' mentioned in an inscription published by Strack.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps also they were among the 'grandchildren' (*huiōnoi*) that Cleopatra III sent to Cos 'for safety' in 103, alongside Ptolemy XI Alexander II,¹⁵⁸ but this is unlikely since the purpose of sending the grandchildren to Cos was specifically to protect them from Lathyrus: something appropriate to Ptolemy XI Alexander II, the son of Alexander, but not to

any children of Lathyrus himself, legitimate or otherwise. Does Justin's information mean that Pausanias is wrong about Berenice being the only legitimate child of Lathyrus? Strabo's suspiciously similar claim that Berenice *IV* was the only legitimate child of her father, Ptolemy XII Auletes, might be taken to indicate that Pausanias has got the wrong Berenice here.¹⁵⁹ But Pausanias' claim can be salvaged: it is made in the context of 80, when the Athenians decided to honour with bronzes Lathyrus and his daughter after the former's death. By this point, Berenice was almost certainly Lathyrus' only *surviving* sister-born child.

Pausanias' description of Berenice implies that Lathyrus also sired other children and that these were bastards. Evidently included here were the two sons of his that were to be brought to power after the brief reign of Ptolemy XI Alexander II, Ptolemy XII Auletes ('Flute-player') in Egypt and his younger brother in Cyprus, 'Ptolemy of Cyprus'. Trogus' Latin text actually refers to Auletes as 'Ptolomaeus [sic] Nothus', i.e., 'Ptolemy Bastard'. *Nothus* is a latinisation of the normal Greek word for 'bastard', *nothos*, which may indicate that this nickname was applied to Auletes by his Alexandrian subjects (in the form of *Nothos*) rather than by his Roman detractors, but we cannot be sure because *nothus* did have some currency in Latin in its own right. Cicero denied that Auletes was royal in birth (*genere*) or disposition, and claimed that his brother had equally little title to rule.¹⁶⁰ So who was mother to these two boys? Auletes was classified in Roman terms as a 'boy' (*puer*) when he came to the throne in 80,¹⁶¹ and so he and his younger brother cannot have been born before 95. This means that, should we be tempted to think false the designations as bastard, they cannot be identified with the sons of Selene, who were born before 107. Auletes and his brother were, however, apparently sent out to join Ptolemy XI Alexander II (and possibly also the children of Selene) in Cos soon after their birth, for they were seized from there alongside Ptolemy XI Alexander II by Mithridates in 88. Mithridates betrothed three of his daughters to the boys, Mithridatis and Nyssa to Auletes and his brother.¹⁶² For Bevan the boys' mother was a Greek courtesan.¹⁶³ For Bouché-Leclercq she was a concubine.¹⁶⁴ Raymond and Barns, followed by Sullivan, guess that she was a native Egyptian princess.¹⁶⁵ Mahaffy might have pointed to hostile Roman propaganda.¹⁶⁶ The Romans did indeed have a special interest in debunking the claim of any Ptolemy to the throne of Egypt after 80, since one of the two Ptolemy Alexanders (i.e. Ptolemies X and XI: it is uncertain which) had bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.¹⁶⁷ At any rate it seems

unlikely that the boys were born of sister-marriage. On accession Auletes was to marry a 'sister' in Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, who was presumably another 'illegitimate' child of Lathyrus.¹⁶⁸ We assume, for the want of other information, that she was born of the same mother as Auletes.

Ptolemy X Alexander I (ruled 107–88) is known to have had one son and one daughter. Porphyry mentions that when he was finally expelled from Alexandria he fled with his wife and daughter to Cyprus.¹⁶⁹ It is usually assumed that the daughter was born of Cleopatra V Berenice III, who is similarly assumed to be the wife mentioned by Porphyry as accompanying his flight, but this is neither stated nor provable. We may assume that the daughter died young in view of her non-appearance in subsequent history. The mother of Alexander's son, Ptolemy XI Alexander II, cannot be identified either, but we can at least be certain that she was not Cleopatra V Berenice III, since Porphyry describes him as a 'stepson of Cleopatra' (*privignus* in Schöne's Latin translation and 'Stiefsohn' in Jacoby's German translation of the Armenian; *progonos Kleopatras* in Eusebius' Greek). Demotic texts describe him as the *sr* of Cleopatra V Berenice III, a word which can mean either 'son' or 'stepson'.¹⁷⁰ There is nothing to support the desperate supposition of some scholars, keen to find a Ptolemaic mother for the child, that Cleopatra IV had married Ptolemy X Alexander during her brief sojourn on Cyprus and had borne Ptolemy XI Alexander II to him at that point.¹⁷¹ The related supposition of other scholars that Ptolemy XI Alexander II must have been legitimate simply because he did succeed to the throne is methodologically unsound and in any case invalidated by the subsequent case of Auletes.¹⁷² Rather, we should conclude that Ptolemy XI Alexander II was born of a non-Ptolemaic mother.

The tally of 'legitimate'—that is to say 'sister-born'—children from Lathyrus and Alexander I is very small. Of all of their children only Lathyrus' daughter Cleopatra V Berenice III, and the unnamed daughter Alexander I probably had by her in turn, are definitely legitimate. Lathyrus may have had two 'legitimate' sons by Selene, but if he did they died in infancy. Lathyrus' Auletes and his brother were fairly certainly illegitimate. Likewise Alexander's son Alexander II was fairly certainly illegitimate. Curiously, all three of these illegitimate sons were to succeed. The proliferation of the illegitimate and their exaltation was surely due to the relative inviability of 'legitimate' children, i.e., those that were multiply inbred, and in particular the male ones of this type.

Inbreeding produces fewer children who are less viable and themselves less fertile, with 'an approximately linear relationship between the increased risk of inherited detrimental disease and the coefficient of in-breeding. For children of brother-sister incest, the risk of inherited detrimental disease or defect would be about *five* times higher than among the children of randomly mated parents.'¹⁷³ Any children that Lathyrus had by his sister were multiply inbred: Lathyrus himself derived from the Physcon-Cleopatra III uncle-niece union; Cleopatra III in turn derived from the brother-sister union of Philometor-Cleopatra II (these themselves the siblings of Physcon); the Philometor-Physcon-Cleopatra II generation were not themselves born directly of a sister-marriage, their mother Cleopatra I having been imported from the Seleucids, but their father Epiphanes was himself the product of Philopator's sister-marriage. In marrying his sister-born niece Cleopatra V Berenice III, Alexander I was taking his inbreeding to a more extreme degree still.¹⁷⁴ Therefore unions joined by Lathyrus and Alexander I with non-Ptolemaic women, who were able to contribute vigorous new sets of genes to their offspring, were bound to be significantly more fertile than those with Ptolemaic women, and the children thus produced had a far greater genetic chance of survival than those produced from the Ptolemaic women. Hornblower has observed that in the Hecatomnid dynasty even the first generation of sister-marriages were relatively infertile.¹⁷⁵ It was an ironic paradox. The Ptolemies had at last achieved a stable legitimacy differentiation within their dynasty, but those unions now strongly designated as 'legitimate' were all but infertile, with the result that only those children now strongly designated as 'illegitimate' were able to thrive and survive long enough to reach the throne.

There are some indications that inbreeding brought about extreme physical characteristics in the 'legitimate' Ptolemies. Philometor and Physcon, whose surname means 'Pot-belly',¹⁷⁶ were very fat:

Ptolemy [VI Philometor] was rather idle and so torpid as a result of his daily regime of luxury that he not only neglected the duties of the regal position, but did not even have the perceptual abilities of an ordinary man because of his excessive fatness. Justin 34.2.7¹⁷⁷

He [Ptolemy VIII Physcon] had a misshapen face, he was short in height, and resembled a beast, not a man, for the fatness of his belly. His horrific appearance was augmented by the excessive fineness of his diaphanous dress, just as if those things were being cleverly offered for inspection which ought to have been kept hidden with all exertion by a modest man. Justin 38.8.10-11

Because of his [Ptolemy VIII Physcon's] decadent luxury, his body was compromised by its fatness and the size of his belly, which was so large that one could not put one's arms around it. Over this he wore a little tunic (*chitōniskos*) which reached to his feet and which had sleeves that came down as far as the wrists. He never went forth on foot except because of Scipio/with a staff (*dia Skipiōna*, evoking *skipōna*, i.e., 'with a staff').
Athenaeus 549e = Posidonius *FGH* 87 F6

Plutarch attributes the following quip to Scipio on the occasion referred to:

The Alexandrians have already derived some benefit from our visit to their city: because of us they have seen their king walking around.

Plutarch *Moralia* 201a

Whitehorne argues that Athenaeus' term *chitōniskos*, literally 'little tunic', is significant. Such a tunic should have reached only the elbows and knees of a normally proportioned man. Since Physcon's reached his wrists and feet, he must also have been dwarfishly short (particularly as one would have expected his protruding belly also to have accounted for some of the garment's length).¹⁷⁸ Physcon's even more deeply inbred son, Ptolemy X Alexander I, was fatter still:

His [Ptolemy VIII Physcon's] son Alexander too had given himself up to fatness, the one that killed his mother, who was sharing the throne with him. At any rate Posidonius speaks of him in the forty-seventh book of his *Histories* as follows: 'The king of Egypt was hated by the common mobs, but was flattered by his entourage. He lived in the midst of a great deal of decadent luxury. He could not go out to the toilet unless he went leaning upon two servants. But he would launch himself barefoot from high couches into dances at drinking parties and execute them with greater vigour than experienced dancers.'

Athenaeus 550ab = Posidonius *FGH* 87 F26

One could tentatively argue also that inbreeding had an effect on the Ptolemaic nose. However, virtually all the evidence for this consists of numismatic portraits, and these are notoriously stylised and inclined to repeat the features of earlier kings in the portraits of subsequent ones with a view to 'legitimizing' them (in the broader sense). When one peruses a catalogue of hellenistic dynastic portraiture, one is struck by the concentration of savagely hooked, nostril-flaring, pendant (i.e., downward-pointing) noses among the later Ptolemies: such are found in images of Ptolemy VI Philometor,¹⁷⁹ Ptolemy VIII Physcon,¹⁸⁰ of Ptolemy IX Lathyrus (or X Alexander I),¹⁸¹ Ptolemy XII Auletes¹⁸² and, famously, Cleopatra VII herself.¹⁸³ But it is worrying that the one hellenistic king who actually won himself the epithet

'Hooknose' belonged rather to the Seleucid family—Antiochus VIII *Grypus*.¹⁸⁴ However, he had inherited late Ptolemaic genes through his mother Cleopatra Thea, and perhaps stood out in the midst of the Seleucids for his nose in a way that he would not have done among the Ptolemies.¹⁸⁵ More worrying still is the fact that a milder version of this feature—a more slightly hooked and pendant nose—is already a traditional feature of earlier Macedonian portraits, including the Vergina ivories, and has indeed come to be known as the 'Macedonian nose'.¹⁸⁶ Did the Ptolemies therefore have a policy of emphasising this distinctively legitimating feature in their portraiture? It is perhaps possible that the 'Macedonian nose' was a genuine Macedonian feature that Ptolemaic in-breeding had indeed enhanced. Mähler regards a 'fat chin and very thick lips' also as being characteristic of the Ptolemaic portraits, alongside the 'voluminous aquiline nose'.¹⁸⁷

The family of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos Philopator II Philadelphus II Auletes

Cleopatra VI Tryphaena II
Berenice IV

Other wife/wives
Cleopatra VII
Arsinoe IV
Ptolemy XIII Philopator III
Ptolemy XIV Philopator IV

After Lathyrus' death in 80 and at Sulla's instigation the Alexandrians married Lathyrus' widow Cleopatra V Berenice III to the son of Alexander I, her own stepson, Ptolemy XI Alexander II (ruled 80), who had passed into Sulla's control from that of Mithridates.¹⁸⁸ Appian tells that the reasons for Sulla's imposition of Alexander II, financial gain aside, were that the government of Alexandria was bereft of a sovereign in the male line, and that the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage. Alexander II murdered Berenice after nineteen days, and was in turn murdered by the Alexandrians.

In the total dearth of 'legitimate' Ptolemies, male or female, the Alexandrians made the 'bastard' Auletes king of Egypt (ruled 80–51, with a gap) and set his younger brother ('Ptolemy of Cyprus') over Cyprus. As we have seen, Auletes married his sister Cleopatra VI Tryphaena on accession.¹⁸⁹ Although established by the Alexandrians, Auletes still had to persuade Rome, to whom one of the Ptolemy Alexanders had bequeathed Egypt, of his title to the throne, and this became the principal concern of his foreign policy.¹⁹⁰ In this he faced competition from Cleopatra Selene, who in 75 sent to Rome her two 'legitimate' sons by Antiochus X to claim the throne, but they went unrecognised.¹⁹¹

Auletes' children, the last generation to sit on the throne of Egypt, were, as best we can tell, and in order of age: Berenice IV, Cleopatra VII ('the Great'), Arsinoe IV, Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV. Porphyry tells that when Auletes went off to Rome in 57, he left the throne occupied by his daughters Tryphaena and Berenice.¹⁹² He is usually believed to be in error here, and to have mistaken Auletes' sister-wife Cleopatra VI Tryphaena II for a daughter: there is no other trace of a Tryphaena, daughter of Auletes (although that in itself is not particularly remarkable); we should normally have expected Auletes to leave behind a wife in power as well as a child; and Strabo explicitly says that Auletes had (only) three daughters. The maternity of Auletes' children is obscure. It is usually believed, by default, that Tryphaena was the mother of them all,¹⁹³ but this is improbable as Strabo says that only the eldest of Auletes' three daughters—i.e., probably, Berenice IV—was legitimate.¹⁹⁴ The implication of this is that Berenice IV was Auletes' only sister-born daughter, and that the other two daughters, including the great Cleopatra VII, were born of a non-Ptolemaic mother. (Some caution is perhaps warranted: as we have seen, this information of Strabo's overlaps in suspicious fashion with Pausanias' that Cleopatra V Berenice III was the only legitimate daughter of Lathyrus.)¹⁹⁵ A further indication that Auletes had more than one wife is the fact that he is accorded plural 'wives' on an Egyptian-language stele now in the British Museum; the stele refers to the children of these unions all alike as *msw nsw*, a phrase translated 'royal children' by Reymond and Barns, and also assumed by them—improperly—to denote 'legitimacy'.¹⁹⁶ Reymond and Barns contend that at least one of these wives was native Egyptian, but there is no evidence for this. Nor does any evidence bear even as vaguely as this upon the maternity of the two sons of Auletes, Ptolemies XIII and XIV.

The Alexandrians eventually expelled Auletes in disgust at his luxury. By this time Cleopatra VI Tryphaena was apparently dead. Strabo takes up the story of how the Alexandrians made his eldest daughter, Berenice IV, queen and then began a farcical search for a husband for her:

All the Ptolemies after the third one, corrupted by decadent luxury, governed worse, and worst of all were the fourth, the seventh [i.e. VIII Physcon] and the last, Auletes ('Fluteplayer'), who, apart from his other licentious behaviour, practised the playing of the flute for the chorus, and took so much pride in this that he did not shun the holding of competitions in his palace, which he entered to compete with the other contestants. The Alexandrians cast this man out. He had three daughters, of whom one, the eldest, alone was legitimate. Her they proclaimed

queen. His two sons were mere infants and were accordingly completely passed over for employment at that time. When they had set her up as queen they sent for a husband from Syria, a certain Cybiosactes ('Fish-packer'),¹⁹⁷ who pretended to belong to the family of the Syrian kings. Within a few days the queen strangled this person, because she could not endure his manners, which resembled those of a tradesman or slave. In his place came another man claiming royal connections. This one claimed to be the son of Mithridates Eupator. He was Archelaus: he was the son of the Archelaus who warred against Sulla and was later honoured by the Romans; he was the grandfather of the most recent man in our time to be king of the Cappadocians; and he was the priest of Comana in Pontus. At the time he had been living with Gabinius, and he hoped to go on expedition with him against the Parthians. But he managed to be conveyed by agents to the queen without Gabinius' knowledge, and was proclaimed king. Meanwhile Pompey the Great received Auletes, who had arrived in Rome. Pompey commended him to the senate and accomplished his restoration [in 55] and the execution of the majority of the ambassadors, a hundred in number, who had come to Rome to argue against him. Among these was Dion the Academician, who had been put in charge of the embassy. So, restored by Gabinius, Ptolemy slew Archelaus and his own daughter,¹⁹⁸ but he died of a disease after adding only a little time to the length of his reign. He left behind two sons and two daughters, of whom Cleopatra was the eldest. Strabo C796¹⁹⁹

We learn from other sources also that another Seleucid, a son of Cleopatra Selene for whom she had claimed the throne in 75, had died during negotiations, and that Gabinius had vetoed the aspirations of yet another Seleucid, Philip II. This pitiful search reveals the end-point of sister-marriage: effective legitimacy now depended upon birth from a Ptolemaic princess; paternity had become relatively inconsequential.

The family of Cleopatra VII

<i>Ptolemy XIII</i>	<i>Ptolemy XIV</i>	<i>Caesar</i>	<i>Antony</i>
		Caesarion	Alexander Helios
		A pregnancy?	Cleopatra Selene
			Ptolemy Philadelphus

On his death in 51 Auletes bequeathed his throne to his elder son Ptolemy XIII (ruled 51–47), who was ten years old, and to Cleopatra VII (*Fig. 5*), who was seventeen, with the instruction that they should marry. The two rent Alexandria in civil war between them, but in 48 Caesar reconciled the pair and conducted a marriage, perhaps for the first time. By 47 Ptolemy XIII was dead and had been replaced by Ptolemy XIV (ruled 47–44).²⁰⁰

Caesar was captivated by Cleopatra in 48 and she bore him a child Caesarion in the next year.²⁰¹ All the extant accusations of bastardy against Caesarion are cast from a Roman perspective, as they attempt to deny in the first instance that he was Caesar's heir by Roman law, rather than that he was an unfit heir to the throne of Egypt. For example:

He also loved queens...but he most loved Cleopatra, with whom he often even drew out parties until dawn... He eventually summoned her to the city, and sent her back magnified with the greatest honours and prizes. And he allowed her to call the son she had borne by his own name [i.e. Caesarion]. Some of the Greeks indeed have passed it down that he resembled Caesar too in appearance and in the way he walked. Mark Antony declared to the senate that the boy had been recognised by him, as Gaius Matius and Gaius Oppius and other friends of Caesar knew. Of these, however, Gaius Oppius published a book to argue that the boy Cleopatra said was Caesar's son was not such, as if defending Caesar against the charge. Suetonius *Caesar* 52

Above all [Octavian] cast against Antony Cleopatra and the children by her that he had recognised, and the things that he had given them. The greatest accusation amongst all these things was that he called 'Caesarion' by this name and was including him in the family of Caesar.

Dio Cassius 50.1 (of the year 32)²⁰²

Biologically, Caesarion probably was the son of Caesar. Plutarch's *Caesar* and some demotic texts permit us to be fairly certain that Caesarion was indeed born in 47,²⁰³ and such a birth-date well suits Caesar's and Cleopatra's 'honeymoon period' in 48. Otherwise Caesarion will have been the child of Cleopatra's dead brother, Ptolemy XIII, who was after all her husband, and was thirteen years old by 48.²⁰⁴ However, in his *Antony* Plutarch *may*, but need not, imply that



Fig. 5. Cleopatra VII.
Silver tetradrachm.
Fitzwilliam Museum 576.02 obv.
© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Caesarion was born only after Caesar's assassination in 44:

...Caesarion...he was believed to have been sired by the former Caesar, who left Cleopatra behind (*katalipontos*) pregnant.

Plutarch *Antony* 54 (the wider context is quoted below)

By 'left...behind' here Plutarch probably means merely that Caesar left her behind in Egypt pregnant, rather than that he left her by dying. But if he did mean the latter, such a birth-date for Caesarion is incompatible with Caesar's paternity, despite the substance of Plutarch's assertion. If this was indeed the point of Caesarion's birth, then his father is likely to have been Cleopatra's second official husband, Ptolemy XIV, who was 14 in 44. If Plutarch did mean to speak about 44 here, he has probably confused the Caesarion pregnancy with rumours concerning a pregnancy of Cleopatra that were abroad in Rome in 44, of which Cicero informs us.²⁰⁵

Socially, Caesar appears to have believed himself to be the father of Caesarion, even to the extent of recognising the boy before the senate, as the Suetonius passage quoted above reveals (if it does not simply recycle Antonian propaganda). The project to deny Caesar's paternity to Caesarion in Rome evidently flowed from the man who aspired to be Caesar's heir in Rome, Octavian, who, unlike Caesarion, was Caesar's son merely by adoption.²⁰⁶ It was no doubt from this source too that the allegations arose that Cleopatra had promiscuous sex with her servants²⁰⁷ and was a prostitute.²⁰⁸ The project to affirm Caesarion's legitimacy flowed from Cleopatra herself and from Antony, who based his own claim to succeed Caesar in part on being the protector of Caesar's bloodline:

For he said that [Cleopatra] was the wife of the former Caesar, and that [Caesarion] was his true son, and he pretended that he was doing these things for the sake of the former Caesar, so that he could abuse Caesar Octavian for being merely the adoptive (*poiētos*) but not the blood (*gnēsios*) son of Caesar.

Dio Cassius 49.41 (of the year 34)

Antony repeated similar claims in his will (if the document as we know it is not a complete fabrication of Octavian).²⁰⁹

In Ptolemaic terms Caesarion, as a queen's adulterine bastard, might have been thought to have little claim to the throne. Despite the importance of queens, heirs to the throne were still at least expected to have been sired by a male Ptolemy, even if this principle had necessarily been suspended in the search for a husband for Berenice IV. Cleopatra was not married to Caesar, but to Ptolemy XIII; Caesar was non-Ptolemaic, non-Graeco-Macedonian and non-royal (although he

possibly did seek royalty for himself).²¹⁰ In Roman terms, Caesarion, even if admitted to be the biological son of Caesar, was still of course illegitimate. Caesar already had a wife in Calpurnia, although he was rumoured to be planning a law to permit him to have more than one, and an act of legitimation for Caesarion.²¹¹

After Ptolemy XIV's death in 44, allegedly at Cleopatra's hand, she had Caesarion associated with herself on the throne:²¹² a remarkable accomplishment given the hostility of the Alexandrian people to Roman interference in their dynasty.

In 40 Cleopatra bore her second Roman lover, Antony, twins, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, and in 36 another boy, Ptolemy Philadelphus, all of whom he recognised.²¹³ Plutarch describes the eloquent tableau in which Antony displayed his 'royal family' at the Alexandrian Sarapieion in 34:

Antony was hated also because of the property-division he had made for his children in Alexandria, which appeared theatrical, overbearing and anti-Roman. He filled the gymnasium with the mob and set up two golden thrones on a silver platform, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and other lesser thrones for his children. First of all he declared Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya and Coele Syria. Caesarion was to be her co-ruler. He was believed to have been sired by the former Caesar, who left Cleopatra behind pregnant. Secondly he proclaimed the sons he himself had by Cleopatra kings of kings, and he assigned Armenia, Media and Parthia, when conquered, to Alexander, and to Ptolemy he assigned Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia.

Plutarch *Antony* 54²¹⁴

In 32 Cleopatra asserted her status as Antony's wife in competition with his current Roman wife, Octavia, sister of Octavian:

Cleopatra envied the honours given to Octavia in [Athens] (Octavia was particularly loved by the Athenians). She tried to win over the people with many generous gifts. So they voted honours to her and sent representatives to her house to convey the vote, one of whom was Antony, because he was, of course, an Athenian citizen... but he sent men to Rome to cast Octavia out of his house. They say that she left and took with her all Antony's children, except the eldest of his children by Fulvia [his former wife], for he was by his father's side.

Plutarch *Antony* 57²¹⁵

Antony and Cleopatra then went through a marriage ceremony, possibly in 31. Octavian brought the dynasty to an end in 30.²¹⁶ Clement says that some of Cleopatra's children, presumably Caesarion and Cleopatra Selene, ruled for 18 days after the suicide of Cleopatra²¹⁷ and before Octavian's annexation of Egypt.²¹⁸ The opportunity to murder his rival Caesarion was doubtless particularly sweet to

Octavian. We are told that he was prompted (as if any prompting were necessary) to the execution by Areius' joking reworking of a line of Homer:

It is not a good thing to have too-many-Caesars [*poly-kaisariē*, a joke based upon the *Iliad*'s *poly-koiraniē*, 'too-many-rulers'].

Plutarch *Antony* 81²¹⁹

The representations of Cleopatra's children as bastards derive not from a Ptolemaic or Alexandrian perspective, but from a Roman one. But with Cleopatra, and before her Berenice IV and Cleopatra Selene, we reach the end-point of the tendency of sister-marriage: birth from a Ptolemaic princess was now more important than birth from a Ptolemaic prince. The pathetic studs canvassed for Berenice IV and the Romans with whom Cleopatra VII associated apparently had no greater impact on the 'legitimacy' of the respective queen's children (actual or prospective), than Berenice I's concubine-status had had for the 'legitimacy' of the children of Ptolemy Soter.

Notes

¹ There is some inconsistency in the numeration of the Ptolemies and the Cleopatras. The series adopted here are those of Will 1979–82. Some older scholars omit Ptolemy VI Philometor's briefly-reigning son, Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator, from the numerical series of Ptolemies, and thus number Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon not as 'Ptolemy VIII' but as 'Ptolemy VII' and so on throughout the remainder of the series. Confusion also attends the use of 'Cleopatra V'. I, following Will, apply this number to the queen also known as Berenice III; more recently, Green 1990, 554, 900 n. 1 etc. and Whitehorne 1994, 182 apply it to the wife of Ptolemy XII Auletes, normally known as Cleopatra VI Tryphaena II, and reserve 'Cleopatra VI' for the Cleopatra that was 'daughter' of Auletes and occupied the throne during his exile, whom most scholars identify with his wife Tryphaena II.

² *Suda* s.v. *Lagos* = Aelian F283 Domingo-Farasté.

³ Pausanias 1.6.2 and 1.6.8.

⁴ Curtius 9.8.22; see Heckel 1992, 222 and Ellis 1994, 3.

⁵ Theocritus 17.26; cf. Gow 1952 ad loc.

⁶ Satyrus F27 Kumaniecki; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 177.

⁷ So too Justin 13.4.10.

⁸ See Ogden 1997 *passim*.

⁹ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4 and *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony* 4 (both quoted in the Argument); cf. Breccia 1903, 154, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 94–5, Macurdy 1932, 105–6, Pomeroy 1984, 106, and Ellis 1994, 42 and 45; *pace* Vatin 1970, 62 and Whitehorne 1994, 114, the last of whom believes that a new marriage *ipso facto* annulled the preceding one.

¹⁰ For Thais and her children see Athenaeus 576e, Plutarch *Alexander* 38,

and Justin 1.2.7 and 15.2; further sources, particularly for the burning of the palace, cited in Part II. See Berve 1926 no. 359 and Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14723, Borza 1968, 35 n. 47 and Ellis 1994, 8–9, 15, 34 and 47.

¹¹ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 314.

¹² See Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 94 n. 3, Bevan 1927, 53, Macurdy 1932, 102, Seibert 1967, 77, and Pomeroy 1984, 13 with n. 40.

¹³ As calculated from Lucian *Macrobioi* 12; but cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 178.

¹⁴ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4–8, Plutarch *Alexander* 70 and Athenaeus 538–539a. On the problem of her name see Brosius 1996, 78 and 185.

¹⁵ Tarn 1929; contra, Bevan 1927, 52–3 and Macurdy 1932, 102.

¹⁶ Diodorus 18.18 and 32 and Pausanias 1.6.8; cf. Bevan 1927, 52, Seibert 1967, 72 (cf. 16), and Ellis 1994, 41.

¹⁷ Pausanias 1.7.1 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.9–10 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 235–6 Schöne; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 179 and Geyer 1932.

¹⁸ Cf. also Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4, Scholiast Theocritus 17.34 and 61, Pausanias 1.6.1, 1.7.1, and 1.11.5; see Macurdy 1932, 103–5, Carney 1987c, 429 and Ellis 1994, 41.

¹⁹ Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 14; cf. Brosius 1996, 18–20.

²⁰ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 95, Macurdy 1932, 5 and 108 and Pomeroy 1984, 13–4 and 181.

²¹ Ellis 1994, 42.

²² *Parian Marble FGH* 239b no. 19; cf. Macurdy 1932, 105 and Vatin 1970, 63 n. 9 and 71 n. 5.

²³ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 4, Scholiast Theocritus 17.61 and Justin 23.2.6; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 179–80 (who, however, regards Theoxene as a daughter of Soter by Eurydice), Macurdy 1932, 104–5, Seibert 1967, 73 and 76 and Ellis 1994, 42.

²⁴ Among the more recent proponents of this notion are Longega 1968, 116, Bengtson 1975, 117 and Green 1990, 119.

²⁵ But note that this did not violate the rule of primogeniture within (amphimetric) line.

²⁶ On Ceraunus' claims see Strack 1897, ii 72–104, Breccia 1903, 33–4 and 68, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 95–100 and 144 n. 2, Bevan 1927, 54, Macurdy 1932, 103, Seibert 1967, 78–9, Vatin 1970, 71–2, Fraser 1972, i 117–9 and Préaux 1978, i 196.

²⁷ Memnon *FGH* 434 F5.7.

²⁸ Strack 1897, 95, rejected by Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 94.

²⁹ For shots in the debate, see, e.g., Breccia 1903, 34 and 153, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 94, Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 180–1, Tarn 1929, 138, Macurdy 1932, 105–6 and 112, Bickerman 1938, 11, Tarn and Griffith 1952, 1, Vatin 1970, 63, Will 1979–82, i 102 and Ellis 1994, 42.

³⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 46 (cf. 32 for Ptolemies' initial engagement); Bevan 1927, 54, Macurdy 1932, 103, Tarn and Griffith 1952, 12 and Vatin 1970, 63 n. 6 all believe they can make something of this passage.

³¹ Polyaeus 7.7.2; cf. Macurdy 1932, 103.

³² Diogenes Laertius 5.79; cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 601; see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 96 n. 1, Green 1990, 87–8 and Ellis 1994, 59–60.

³³ Theocritus 17.43–4, 63 and 74–5, with Gow 1952 ad locc.; cf. also Callimachus *Hymn (1) to Zeus* 170; see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 95 and 98.

³⁴ Diodorus 20.37.3–6; cf. Seibert 1969, 184–9 and Ellis 1994, 45.

³⁵ Diodorus 17.91.

³⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16; cf. Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14727. See Part II.

³⁷ Theocritus 14.61; cf. Gow 1952, ii pp. 83 and 546–7 and Gow and Page 1965 ii pp. 296–7.

³⁸ Athenaeus 576ef; see Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81, nos. 14713, 14717–19, 14726, 14728, 14732–3.

³⁹ Pausanias 1.7.3; cf. Vatin 1970, 63 and Rice 1983, 39.

⁴⁰ *P.Brit.Mus.* inv. 589; cf. Vatin 1970, 78.

⁴¹ Scholiast Theocritus 17.128–9.

⁴² The date of his marriage to Arsinoe II is heavily disputed: see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 99–100 (who puts it back in 285, when Philadelphus was associated with Soter's power), Tarn 1913, 261–3, Macurdy 1932, 149, Seibert 1967, 78–9, Fraser 1972, i 117 and Rice 1983, 41 and 184–5.

⁴³ Justin 24.3.

⁴⁴ Scholiast Theocritus 17.129; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 162, Beloch 1912–27, iv.1 582–3, Macurdy 1932, 110–11 and 116, Longega 1968, 71–2, Vatin 1970, 81 and Rice 1983, 39, who suggests that the removal of Arsinoe I may have been before 279 and nothing to do with the return of Arsinoe II.

⁴⁵ Cf. Petrie 1896 Plate xx.

⁴⁶ Cf. the remarks of Green 1990, 145.

⁴⁷ See Seibert 1967, 84–5, Hopkins 1980, 312, Pomeroy 1984, 16 and Carney 1987c, 428 and 436 (but the idea that the later Ptolemies continued with sister-marriage simply because the parallel dynasties into which they might have intermarried had disappeared is not persuasive).

⁴⁸ See Theocritus 17.131–3d, with scholiast; cf. Kahrstedt 1903, 267, Longega 1968, 95–109, Vatin 1970, 82, Fraser 1972, i 118, 228–9, 245–6 and 668–9, Burstein 1982, 211–12 and Carney 1987c, 429.

⁴⁹ Cf. Davis and Kraay 1973 figures 15–19 or Smith 1986 plate 75.3–4.

⁵⁰ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.10 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 235–6 Schöne.

⁵¹ Pausanias 1.7.1–2, quoted above; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 165–6.

⁵² See also Trogus *Prologue* 24–5 and Memnon *FGH* 434 F8.6–7; cf. Breccia 1903, 10–12, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 152–3, Macurdy 1932, 115, Seibert 1967, 83, Longega 1968, 57–69, Burstein 1982, 200, Pomeroy 1984, 16 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 22.

⁵³ Cf. Droysen 1877–8, iii.1 267 and Strack 1897, 86, *pace* Longega 1968, 73 and Carney 1987c, 426 and 429.

⁵⁴ A persuasive argument that Arsinoe influenced Philadelphus at any rate in the field of maritime policy is made by Hauben 1983. A more general promotion of Arsinoe's influence on Philadelphus is to be found in Longega 1968; Burstein 1982 is more sceptical. Quaegebeur 1978 especially 260 demonstrates that the Egyptian sources came to portray Arsinoe almost as a sovereign in her own right, in a way that prefigured the Egyptian representation of Cleopatra VII.

⁵⁵ Memnon *FGH* 434 F8.7.

⁵⁶ Pausanias 1.7.1, Scholiast Theocritus 17.128, Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15 and *P.Haun.* 6 F3 lines 2–3; against this notion see Longega 1968, 83–95, Burstein 1982 and Pomeroy 1984, 17–19.

⁵⁷ For Pharaonic sister-marriage see Diodorus 1.27.1 and Philo *Special laws* 3.23.4; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 29–30, Beloch 1912–27, iv.1 371, Macurdy 1932, 116, Cerny 1954, Pestman 1961, 3 and 7, Modrzejewski 1964, 56, Griffiths 1966, 138, Seibert 1967, 81–2, Fraser 1972, i 177, 217 and ii 209 nn. 200–1, Hopkins 1980, 311–12, Burstein 1982, 210–11, Pomeroy 1984, 16, Carney 1987c, 421–3 and 431–2, Watterson 1991, 56–7, Robbins 1993, 27 and Scheidel 1996. The influence of this is disputed by Longega 1968, 73 and Vatin 1970, 59–62.

⁵⁸ Lichtheim 1973–80, iii pp. 127–8.

⁵⁹ Kornemann 1923, 17–45 and Bengtson 1975, 117; the view is rejected by Longega 1968, 72, Vatin 1970, 72, Fraser 1972, i 117 and Carney 1987c, 423 and 433.

⁶⁰ Watterson 1991, 23–4 and 148; but Robbins 1983a, 67–70, 1983b and 1993, 26–7 and Carney 1987c, 423 are sceptical.

⁶¹ Carney 1987c, 434–5.

⁶² Scholiast Theocritus 17.128; cf. Pausanias 1.7.8. See Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 162, Macurdy 1932, 121–2, Longega 1968, 75 n. 20 and Burstein 1982, 202; *pace* Volkmann 1959a.

⁶³ See Harrison 1968–71, i 83–4.

⁶⁴ Dittenberger 1903–5 nos. 28, 54–6, 60–1, 65 and 727, SEG viii 505 and xviii 628 and 640; cf. Longega 1968, 75 n. 20.

⁶⁵ Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 161, Bevan 1927, 60, Macurdy 1932, 124, Seibert 1967, 82 and Longega 1968, 73; *pace* Carney 1987c, 424–5, whose point about Philadelphus appearing to have been in general sexually adventurous is well made.

⁶⁶ Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 162; *pace* Macurdy 1932, 131.

⁶⁷ Callimachus F228 (*Deification of Arsinoe*) lines 43 and 73, Scholiast Theocritus 17.121–3d (the temple) and Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 351 l.1 (*basilissa*); see Regner 1941, Seibert 1967, 83, Quaegebeur 1971, 246, Fraser 1972, i 118, 228–9, 245–6 and 668–9, Hopkins 1980, 311 n. 26, Burstein 1982, 211 n. 73 and Carney 1987c, 430.

⁶⁸ Sotades F1 Powell (at Athenaeus 621a and at Plutarch *Moralia* 11a); cf. Fraser 1972, i, 117–8 and Carney 1987c, 428 n. 19.

⁶⁹ Theocritus 17.131–4; cf. Gow 1952 ad loc. See Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 98 and 163–4, Macurdy 1932, 116–7 and 127, Seibert 1967, 83, Longega 1968, 74 n. 14, Vatin 1970, 61–2 and 72–3, Fraser 1972, i 117–18, 666–7, ii 209–10 nn. 201–6, Burstein 1982, 210–11 and Carney 1987c, 431.

⁷⁰ Diodorus 1.27.1; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 16, Thompson 1988, 58–74 and 121, Carney 1987c, 431 and 436–7, Ellis 1994, 32 and Green 1990, 145–6 and 410. See Dittenberger 1903–5 nos. 30–33 for the cult of Isis Arsinoe Philadelphus.

⁷¹ Fraser 1972, i 226 and Green 1990, 405–6.

⁷² See Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14542, Seibert 1967, 78–9, Vatin 1970, 63, Will 1979–82, i 234–6 and Burstein 1982, 206. The notion

that 'Ptolemy the Son' is to be identified with Arsinoe's son by Lysimachus (found, e.g., at Beloch 1912-27, iv.2 183) is now obsolete.

⁷³ For the *Papyrus of the Revenues*, see Grenfell and Mahaffy 1896, especially year 27, columns 1 and 24.

⁷⁴ Trogus *Prologue* 26.

⁷⁵ Athenaeus 593; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, i 182 and 206-8 and Macurdy 1932, 122.

⁷⁶ e.g. Rehm 1914, i no. 139 (of 262).

⁷⁷ See Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, i 96 n. 1, 182 and 245-6, Wace and Tillyard 1904-5, Beloch 1912-27, iv.1 599 and 615 and iv.2 189, Tarn 1913, 449-53, Macurdy 1932, 131-4, Pridik 1935, Vatin 1970, 69-70 and 83, Will 1979-82, i 245-6, Pomeroy 1984, 20 and 23, Laronde 1987, 380-1 and Le Bohec 1993, 68-81.

⁷⁸ See Parsons 1977.

⁷⁹ For Magas see especially Polybius 15.25.2. We depend upon an inscription from Aetolia for our knowledge of Alexander, of the son whose name is lost (perhaps another Ptolemy [PTOLEMAIOS]—10 spaces are available) and, in part, of Berenice (Peremans and Van't Dack 1950-81 nos. 14479, 14501 and 14575): *IG* ix.12 56 e-g. See Beloch 1912-27, iv.2 184.

⁸⁰ Dittenberger 1903-5 no. 56 lines 46-73.

⁸¹ Polybius 5.83 and 15.25; cf. Mahaffy 1895, 128, Strack 1897, 30, Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, i 321-3, Bevan 1927, 230-1, Macurdy 1932, 138 and Will 1979-82, ii 109.

⁸² Polybius 15.25; cf. Vatin 1970, 84 and Fraser 1972, i 118.

⁸³ Polybius 15.25.

⁸⁴ *P. Haun.* 6 F6-7 line 6.

⁸⁵ Polybius 15.31.

⁸⁶ Pomeroy 1984, 50.

⁸⁷ John of Antioch *FHG* iv p. 558 F54.

⁸⁸ Justin 30.1-2.

⁸⁹ Polybius 15.25; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, i 323 and 333-8, Vatin 1970, 84, Fraser 1972, i 118 and Will 1979-82, ii 109-10.

⁹⁰ Polybius 5.36, 15.25, *pace* 5.34; cf. Plutarch *Cleomenes* 33, Justin 29.1.5 and 30.1.2, Zenobius 3.94 at Leutsch et al. 1839-51, i p. 81 and *P. Haun.* 6; see Strack 1897, i 194, Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, i 288-9, Walbank 1957-79 ad locc., Fraser 1959, 94-5 (no. 33) and Green 1990, 290.

⁹¹ Cf. Breccia 1903, 20, Bevan 1927, 268, Vatin 1970, 64.

⁹² Appian *Syrian Wars* 1, Livy 33.40 and 35.13; cf. Vatin 1970, 63-70 (with, however, a degree of implausible speculation on the 'legal' form of the marriage) and Whitehorne 1994, 80-1.

⁹³ Polybius 28.1; cf. also Appian *Syrian Wars* 11.5 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 12.4.1; see Bickerman 1938, 29, Holleaux 1938-57, v 386, Walbank 1957-79, iii 356, Bengtson et al. 1962, ii 161, Will 1979-82, ii 192, Gruen 1984, 684 and Whitehorne 1994, 82 and 93.

⁹⁴ Cf. Will 1979-82, ii 191 and 302 and Whitehorne 1994, 84.

⁹⁵ See Pestman 1967, 15 and Whitehorne 1994, 85.

⁹⁶ Carney 1987c, 438, who also points to the role of dynastic cult, the

position of pharaonic queens, the status of women generally in Egyptian society, and the number of supposedly able women in the later Ptolemaic family; cf. also Carney 1993, 320. Diodorus 1.27.2 explained the power of Ptolemaic queens with reference to the imagined power of pharaonic queens before them; cf. Green 1990, 547.

⁹⁷ See Pestman 1967, 46 for demotic sources, and *P. Coll. Youtie* 12 lines 14–15 and SEG xvi no. 788 for Greek sources; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 86–7.

⁹⁸ The marriage had taken place at least by 174/3: *P. Amh.* ii 43 line 3, *P. Geiss.* i 2 line 4 and *P. Grenf.* i 10 line 3; cf. Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 161–4 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 6, Macurdy 1932, 147, Otto 1934, 14 and Will 1979–82, ii 311 and 315. Whitehorne 1994, 90 apparently does not see custom as the primary determinant of this union, but the contingencies of the immediate political situation.

⁹⁹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 161–4 Schöne, Polybius 29.23, Trogus *Prologue* 34 and *P. Ryl.* 583; cf. see Walbank 1957–79, iii 322, Fraser 1972, i 119, ii 211 n. 212, Préaux 1978, i 169, Will 1979–82, ii 318 and Whitehorne 1994, 93.

¹⁰⁰ Justin 38.8.4.

¹⁰¹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F49ab and Justin 34.2.7–8; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 11 and 15–16, Macurdy 1932, 148, Aymard 1952, 85–7, Fraser 1972, i 119 and ii 211 n. 213, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 219–21 and Whitehorne 1994, 94.

¹⁰² Thus Reymond and Barns 1977, 9–10, Mooren 1979, Will 1979–82, ii 317 and 319 and Habicht 1989, 344–5.

¹⁰³ Polybius 29.27.1–10, Livy 45.12.3–8, Diodorus 31.2, Appian *Syrian Wars* 66, Justin 34.3.1–4, Velleius Paterculus 1.10.1; cf. Mørkholm 1966, 94 and Green 1990, 431.

¹⁰⁴ Polybius 29.23.4 and Livy 45.11; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 21 and 28, Macurdy 1932, 149–52, Fraser 1972, i 119 and ii 212 nn. 214–15 and Will 1979–82, ii 320.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 161–4 Schöne, Polybius 29.27, Diodorus 31.15a, Trogus *Prologue* 34 and Valerius Maximus 5.1; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 34–45, Macurdy 1932, 149–50, Otto 1934, 77–81 and 88–133, Fraser 1972, i 119–20 and ii 212–14 nn. 216–25, Will 1979–82, ii 360–4, Lanciers 1988 especially 405–6, Mooren 1988 especially 435–6, Green 1990, 442–3 and Whitehorne 1994, 98–100.

¹⁰⁶ Polybius 31.10, 17 and Livy *Epitomes* 46–7, Diodorus 31.17c and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 161–4 Schöne.

¹⁰⁷ See also Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.4.7; cf. Fraser 1972, i 119 and ii 212 n. 217 and Whitehorne 1994, 98.

¹⁰⁸ See Reymond and Barns 1977, 26–7, Will 1979–82, ii 432–4 and Green 1990, 540.

¹⁰⁹ Livy 45.13; cf. also Polybius 30.16; see Strack 1897, 33, 52–3 and 75, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 28; cf. Macurdy 1932, 151, Taubenschlag 1955, 565, Vatin 1970, 73 and Whitehorne 1994, 100. However, Epiphanes and Cleopatra I had already jointly sent an embassy to Rome in 190: Livy 37.3.9; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 85–6.

¹¹⁰ Strack 1897, 83–83; cf. Macurdy 1932, 154 and Vatin 1970, 85.

¹¹¹ Cf. Seibert 1967, 85–9.

¹¹² Dittenberger 1903–5 nos. 125–7 and *P. dem. Ryl.* iii 16; cf. Van't Dack 1988, 157–74 and Schubert 1992.

¹¹³ See also Josephus *Contra Apion* 2.51; cf. Orosius 5.10.17. See Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 62, Macurdy 1932, 155–6, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 28–9, Vatin 1970, 71, Fraser 1972, i 121 and ii 214 nn. 226–30, Lanciers 1988, 422–3, Green 1990, 537 and Whitehorne 1994, 106–7.

¹¹⁴ Diodorus 33.20 and 22.

¹¹⁵ Diodorus 33.13; cf. Fraser 1972, i 121.

¹¹⁶ Whitehorne 1994, 112; cf. 114 and 124–5.

¹¹⁷ See Strabo C797 for the nickname; Hesychius s.v. explains the meaning; cf. Green 1990, 877 and Whitehorne 1994, 130 and 221.

¹¹⁸ See also Livy *Epitome* 59, Valerius Maximus 9.1. ext. 5, Orosius 5.10.6 and Justin 38.8.5.

¹¹⁹ For general discussion of the episode see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 64, Macurdy 1932, 157 and 163, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 45–7, Vatin 1970, 73, Heinen 1974, Will 1979–82, ii 426 and 440, Boswinkel and Pestman 1982, 66, Mooren 1988, 442 and Green 1990, 548.

¹²⁰ Whitehorne 1994, 110–14 and 123–5.

¹²¹ Mooren 1988, 442.

¹²² Polybius 39.7; cf. Diodorus 31.33; see Macurdy 1932, 157–8 and 163, Vatin 1970, 73–4, Green 1990, 548 (who thinks the daughter offered was Thea) and Whitehorne 1994, 103–4 and 113.

¹²³ Livy *Epitome* 59; cf. Strack 1897, 38–50, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 64–5, Macurdy 1932, 158 and 162–3, Vatin 1970, 74, Fraser 1972, ii 216 n. 236 and Whitehorne 1994, 113–14 (the last of whom revives the monogamy fallacy here).

¹²⁴ See Heinen 1974, Boswinkel and Pestman 1982, 64–7, Mooren 1988, 436–8 and Whitehorne 1994, 115 and 124–5; cf. more generally for the use of 'sister and wife' terminology Beloch 1912–27, iv.1 375, Vatin 1970, 75 and 87 and Carney 1987c, 435.

¹²⁵ Volkmann 1959c, 1727–9 (with the prescriptive evidence) and Will 1979–82, ii 426.

¹²⁶ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 64 and Will 1979–82, ii 440. For the implausible notion that Lathyrus was the son of Cleopatra II, not Cleopatra III, see Cauville and Devauchelle 1984, 47–53. This contradicts the explicit testimony of Pausanias 2.9.3; cf. also Justin 39.4.5, Trogus *Prologue* 39 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 163–4 Schöne. Against the hypothesis see Mooren 1988, 439–40 and Thompson 1989 especially 694 and 701.

¹²⁷ Whitehorne 1994, 129.

¹²⁸ See also, in addition to Justin 38.8.12–13, quoted below, Livy *Epitome* 59 and Orosius 5.10.6 for accounts of this episode.

¹²⁹ Discussed at Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 72, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 59–64, Fraser 1972, i 121–2 and ii 216 nn. 35–9, Mooren 1988, 436, Green 1990, 540 and Whitehorne 1994, 117–19 and 127.

¹³⁰ Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 130 line 144; cf. Macurdy 1932, 157.

¹³¹ Josephus *Contra Apionem* 2.5 and Diodorus 33.13; see Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14722; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 61 n. 1 and 72 and Fraser 1972, i 121 and ii 215 n. 231.

¹³² Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 121 and Justin 39.5.2; he is ascribed to Eirene/Ithaca by Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 86, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 116–18, Fraser 1972, ii 215 n. 231 and Whitehorne 1994, 109 and 111; *pace* Reymond and Barns 1977, 24.

¹³³ SEG ix no. 7; cf. Seibert 1967, 85–6, Will 1979–82, ii 363–4 and 418–9 and Green 1990, 443.

¹³⁴ IGR iv no. 1116.

¹³⁵ SEG ix no. 5; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 86 n. 2 and Will 1979–82, ii 440, 443–4 and 465–6.

¹³⁶ Mahaffy 1895, 427.

¹³⁷ Cicero *De lege agraria* 1.1.1, 2.16.41–17.44, *De rege Alexandrino* F9; cf. Will 1979–82, ii 441, 517 and 520.

¹³⁸ Reymond and Barns 1977, 11, 17 and 24.

¹³⁹ *Vienna stele* no. 82 = Quaegebeur 1974, 72 no. 32; cf. Sullivan 1990, 83, 93, 365 and 360–71, who, however, believes the marriage only took place during the reign of Ptolemy IX; for the view that this Berenice is an Egyptian woman see Thompson 1988, 132–3 n. 124.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Vatin 1970, 88.

¹⁴¹ *Pace* Reymond and Barns 1977, 25.

¹⁴² See Remondon 1964, Peremans 1981, 273–81 and Modrzejewski 1984, 362–74.

¹⁴³ Athenaeus 576ef and Gow and Page 1965 Asclepiades v; see appendix 1.

¹⁴⁴ There is a possible portrait bust of Apion from Derba in Libya: see Willers 1982, 22–3 no. 4.

¹⁴⁵ Plutarch *Tiberius* 1.3; cf. Stockton 1979, 24–5.

¹⁴⁶ Justin 39.1.2; cf. Grainger 1990b, 164 n. 131, Green 1990, 537 and Whitehorne 1994, 158.

¹⁴⁷ Cicero *De lege agraria* 1.1.1 and 2.16–17; cf. the apt remark of Green 1990, 549—‘après moi le déluge’.

¹⁴⁸ *P. Rylands dem.* iii 20; see Otto and Bengtson 1938, 113–14, Musti 1960, Samuel 1962, 147–9, Pestman 1967, 64, Thompson 1989, 694 n. 2 and Whitehorne 1994, 119–20.

¹⁴⁹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.8–9 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 163–6 Schöne, Justin 39.3.1–5.1, Pausanias 1.9.1–3, Posidonius *FGH* 87 F26 (= Athenaeus 550) and Cicero *De rege Alexandrino* F9; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 85–6, 92–4 and 98–111, Macurdy 1932, 164–5 and 173–4, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 162–191, Samuel 1962, 150, Pestman 1967, 152–5, Vatin 1970, 74–6, Fraser 1972, i 123–4 and ii 219–21 nn. 251–9, Will 1979–82, ii 440–3 and 448, Mähler 1983, 1–2, Sullivan 1990, 81–8 and 363–8, Green 1990, 549–50 and Whitehorne 1994, 132–48 (NB especially 136).

¹⁵⁰ Justin 39.3–4 and Pausanias 1.9.1.

¹⁵¹ Justin 39.4.5, Pausanias 1.9.3 and Posidonius *FGH* 87 F26 at Athenaeus 550a.

¹⁵² See the demotic stele at Mond and Myers 1934 p. 10 no. 11 (and cf. p. 31), which apparently refers to Cleopatra V as Lathyrus' wife; cf. Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.9 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 165–6 Schöne; see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 111 n. 1, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 99 n. 6 and Fraser 1972, i 124.

¹⁵³ Watterson 1991, 151 and 154–5 and Whitehorne 1994, 175.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Bevan 1927, 331 and Macurdy 1932, 172.

¹⁵⁵ Pausanias 1.9.3.

¹⁵⁶ Justin 39.4.1; cf. Otto and Bengtson 1938, 117 n. 1, Will 1979–82, ii 518, Green 1990, 555 and Whitehorne 1994, 178–9 and 224.

¹⁵⁷ Strack 1903 no. 34.

¹⁵⁸ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.13.1.

¹⁵⁹ Strabo C796.

¹⁶⁰ Trogus *Prologue* 39 and Cicero *De lege agraria* 2.42 and *Pro domo* 8.20. On the legitimacy status of Auletes and his brother see Breccia 1903, 65, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 94 n. 2 and 114 n. 2, Macurdy 1932, 171, 174–9 and 184, Olshausen 1963, 30–1 n. 39, Fraser 1972, i 124 and ii 219 n. 251 and 222 n. 267, Sullivan 1990, 88, 90–5, 229–30, 236–7, 368–70, 416–17 and 420–2 and Whitehorne 1994, 179, who are all convinced of the boys' bastardy.

¹⁶¹ Cicero *De rege Alexandrino* F9; cf. Strack 1897, 209, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 123, Macurdy 1932, 179 and Whitehorne 1994, 179.

¹⁶² Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 23 and 111 and *Civil Wars* 1.102; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 123, Bevan 1927, 344–6, Macurdy 1932, 175–6, Will 1979–82, ii 445, 480, 518–19 and 523, Sullivan 1990, 87 and 367, Green 1990, 553–4 and Whitehorne 1994, 177–8.

¹⁶³ Bevan 1927, 344.

¹⁶⁴ Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 114.

¹⁶⁵ Raymond and Barns 1977, 27 (cf. 21 and 29, but the argumentation remains unrevised and incoherent, as Barns left it at his death) and Sullivan 1990, 87 and 367.

¹⁶⁶ Mahaffy 1895, 427.

¹⁶⁷ Cicero *De lege agraria* 1.1.1 and 2.17.44 and *De rege Alexandrino* F9; cf. Olshausen 1963, 22–37, Badian 1967a, Will 1979–82, ii 441, 443 and 519, Mähler 1983, 12–13 n. 23, Braund 1984, 134, Van't Dack 1989, 156–61, Sullivan 1990, 90–1 and 369, Green 1990, 553 and Whitehorne 1994, 179.

¹⁶⁸ Cicero *De lege agraria* 2.41, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8 Schöne (mistakenly identifying Tryphaena as a daughter of Auletes) and *P. dem. Leiden* 374; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 123, Macurdy 1932, 175–6, Sullivan 1990, 92 and Whitehorne 1994, 178, *pace* Bevan 1927, 346.

¹⁶⁹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 165–6 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 105, Macurdy 1932, 173 and Vatin 1970, 75.

¹⁷⁰ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.11 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 165–6 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 93–4, Pestman 1967, 72 and 76, Van't Dack et al. 1989, 152 (for the demotic texts) and Whitehorne 1994, 176.

¹⁷¹ Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 92 and 117 and Macurdy 1932, 164–5 and 173; *contra*, Whitehorne 1994, 135 and 176.

¹⁷² Breccia 1903, 22 and Fraser 1972, i 123.

¹⁷³ Hopkins 1980, 325–6; and see now Scheidel 1996.

¹⁷⁴ There is some consideration of Ptolemaic in-breeding at Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 28, Bevan 1927, 305, Volkmann 1959, 1728 and Green 1990, 538 and 555; Whitehorne 1994, 149 speculates that Philometor's eldest son Eupator may have died of a congenital defect (cf. also 172 and 174).

¹⁷⁵ Hornblower 1982, 362–3.

¹⁷⁶ Strabo C795.

¹⁷⁷ See also Polybius 39.7.4.

¹⁷⁸ Whitehorne 1994, 108.

¹⁷⁹ Smith 1988 Plates 75 especially nos. 12 and 15.

¹⁸⁰ Smith 1988 Plate 47 and Plate 75 no. 17.

¹⁸¹ Smith 1988 Plate 75 no. 19. See also Mähler 1983 Plate 2d for an extreme example of this nose in a portrait of Ptolemy X from Edfou.

¹⁸² Smith 1988 Plate 75 no. 20.

¹⁸³ Smith 1988 Plate 75 nos. 21–4.

¹⁸⁴ See especially Justin 39.1.9.

¹⁸⁵ His portraits show that he fully deserved his epithet: see Smith 1988 Plate 76 no. 20.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Smith 1988, 63 and 84–5. See his illustrations of the Papyri Pyrrhus (Plate 6), 'Craterus' (Plate 8), Seleucus (Plate 16), Philetaerus (Plate 17) and the 'Terme' ruler (Plate 32). Among portraits of later non-Ptolemaic hellenistic kings compare also the Balas statuette (Plate 71 nos. 2–3), coins of other Seleucids from the mid second century onwards (Plate 76 no. 8—Plate 77 no. 7) and coins of Philip V (Plate 74 nos. 9 and 10) and Perseus (Plate 74 no. 11).

¹⁸⁷ Mähler 1983, 9. These phenomena are not particularly prominent in the imperial-period mummy-portraits of commoners from the Fayum, for which see Walker and Bierbrier 1997 (perhaps no. 11, Hermione the schoolteacher, comes close).

¹⁸⁸ Appian *Civil Wars* 1.102, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.11 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 165 Schöne and Cicero *De rege Alexandrino* F9; cf. Bevan 1927, 342, Macurdy 1932, 175, Fraser 1972, i 124, ii 221 nn. 263–5 and Whitehorne 1994, 177.

¹⁸⁹ Cicero *De lege agraria* 2.41, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8 Schöne and *P. dem. Leiden* 374.

¹⁹⁰ Cicero *De lege agraria* 2.41, *Pro Rabirio* 3, *De rege Alexandrino* F8, *Ad Atticum* 2.16.2, Plutarch *Crassus* 13, Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 114, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 14.3.1, Suetonius *Caesar* 54, Dio Cassius 39.12.1, *Caesar Civil war* 3.107; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 125–44, Macurdy 1932, 177, Fraser 1972, i 125, ii 222–4 nn. 269–76, Will 1979–82, ii 519–24, Mähler 1983, 2–3, Green 1990, 647 and Whitehorne 1994, 180.

¹⁹¹ Cicero *In Verrem* 4.27–30; cf. Macurdy 1932, 177, Will 1979–82, ii 521 and Sullivan 1990, 94–5 and 370.

¹⁹² Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 327, Bevan 1927, 354–5, Macurdy 1932, 178, Will 1979–82, ii 524, Olshausen 1963, 51, Sullivan 1990, 239–40 and 423–4 and Whitehorne 1994, 182–3; *pace* Fraser 1972, i 125 and ii 223 n. 274. The two queens (whoever they were) are attested as occupying the throne in Auletes'

absence by *BGU* viii 1762 lines 3–4.

¹⁹³ e.g. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 145 n. 1.

¹⁹⁴ Strabo C796.

¹⁹⁵ Pausanias 1.9.3; cf. above on the family of Lathyrus.

¹⁹⁶ British Museum stele no. 886; cf. Bevan 1927, 349 and Reymond and Barns 1977, 13.

¹⁹⁷ Rendered by Sullivan 1990, 241 as ‘Seller of cubed tunny-fish’.

¹⁹⁸ Further sources for Auletes’ killing of Berenice: Cicero *In Pisonem* 48–50, Plutarch *Antony* 3, Strabo C558, Dio Cassius 39.57–8 and Appian *Civil war* 5.8.

¹⁹⁹ See also Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.14 (= Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8) and F32.28 Schöne and Dio Cassius 39.57; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 160–72, Bevan 1927, 355–6, Macurdy 1932, 180–2 and Fraser 1972, i 125–6 and ii 224–5 nn. 272–81, Will 1979–82, ii 523–7, Sullivan 1990, 241–2 and 424–6, Green 1990, 650–1 and Whitehorne 1994, 184.

²⁰⁰ Caesar *Civil war* 3.107–8 and *Alexandrine war* 33, Ampelius 35.4, Eutropius 6.21 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.16 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 179 n. 1 and 213–28, Macurdy 1932, 185, Fraser 1972, i 126–7 and ii 226–9 nn. 282–95, Will 1979–82, ii 527–34 and Sullivan 1990, 248–62 and 427–35.

²⁰¹ Caesar *Civil war* 3.107–12, Plutarch *Caesar* 48–9, Dio Cassius 42.35–8 and Florus 2.13.56–8.

²⁰² See also Dio Cassius 47.31 (of the year 42) and 50.3 (of the year 32).

²⁰³ Plutarch *Caesar* 49.10 and the demotic texts at Pestman 1967, 82.

²⁰⁴ For what it is worth—not very much—Lucan 10.107–72 does imply that Ptolemy XIII slept with Cleopatra.

²⁰⁵ Cicero *Ad Atticum* 14.20; cf. Macurdy 1932, 191–2 and Sullivan 1990, 262 and 435; *pace* Mahaffy 1895, 463 n. 1 and Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 223 n. 2.

²⁰⁶ For the Roman context of the debate on the paternity of Caesarion, see Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 216–7 and 220, Macurdy 1932, 190, Fraser 1961 (reviewing the literature on Caesarion’s paternity), Will 1979–82, ii 536, Pomeroy 1984, 25 and Sullivan 1990, 262–6 and 435–7.

²⁰⁷ Propertius 3.11.30.

²⁰⁸ Propertius 3.11.39.

²⁰⁹ Plutarch *Antony* 58, Suetonius *Augustus* 17 and Dio Cassius 50.6.4 and 50.3; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 291–3, Macurdy 1932, 210 and Pelling 1988, 261–2.

²¹⁰ Suetonius *Caesar* 79, Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F130.10, Dio Cassius 94.15 and Appian *Civil Wars* 2.110; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 221–2.

²¹¹ Suetonius *Caesar* 52 and Dio Cassius 44.7.3; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 221–2, Macurdy 1932, 190 and Will 1979–82, ii 536.

²¹² Porphyry *FGH* 260 F2.16 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 167–8 Schöne, Appian *Civil Wars* 4.61, Dio Cassius 47.31.5 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 15.4.1 and *Against Apion* 2.58; cf. Macurdy 1932, 193, Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 227, Fraser 1972, i 127 and Will 1979–82, ii 538–9.

²¹³ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 253 and 285, Macurdy 1932, 200, Will 1979–82, ii 544–8 and Sullivan 1990, 266–8 and 437–9.

²¹⁴ See also Dio Cassius 49.41; cf. Pelling 1988, 249–50, Green 1990, 675

and Whitehorne 1994, 226. Cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 69 for Antony's crude admission that he had sex with Cleopatra ('*reginam in eo*').

²¹⁵ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 253 and 290–1 and Macurdy 1932, 209.

²¹⁶ Livy *Epitome* 131 and Plutarch *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony* 4; cf. Will 1979–82, ii 547.

²¹⁷ For the details of which see Plutarch *Antony* 85; cf. Griffiths 1961.

²¹⁸ Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* i 129; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 197.

²¹⁹ See also Suetonius *Augustus* 17 and Dio Cassius 51.15; the Homeric reference is *Iliad* 2.204; cf. Sullivan 1990, 279 and 445.

Chapter 5

THE SELEUCIDS¹

The Seleucid dynasty was dreadfully unstable. The history of the development of notions of legitimacy within it is complicated by the interventions of foreign powers, in particular Rome, Egypt and Parthia.² Seleucid dynastic practice can be divided into three broad phases. In the first phase the first three kings all brushed, in different ways, with the familiar problem of amphimetric strife: Seleucus I found a novel last-minute solution to it by transferring a problematic rival wife to the son with whom she was otherwise likely to compete; Antiochus I was probably undone by his own amphimetric negligence; and Antiochus II was undone by Philadelphus' manoeuvring of him into an amphimetric situation. The second phase was initiated by the creative Antiochus III. In organising the marriages of his sons and daughters he experimented with Ptolemaic-style full-sister marriage and combined this with a levirate technique. A third phase began with the reign of Alexander Balas as the dynasty fell under the indirect control of the Ptolemies themselves. Henceforth Ptolemaic princesses became requisite for the production of legitimate children, as was by then the case in Egypt itself (but of course marriage to a Ptolemaic princess no longer entailed actual sister-marriage in the Seleucid context). Furthermore, as also in the Ptolemaic dynasty, these princesses came to play the role of transferable legitimating tokens, and they were indeed often transferred—or transferred themselves—between princes. Accordingly a situation arose in the Seleucid dynasty which was comparable to that which arose in the Ptolemaic dynasty itself in the generation of Ptolemies VI and VIII and Cleopatra II: competing lines came to be produced from the same mothers but different fathers, with comparably disastrous results. And again as in the Ptolemaic dynasty, a great deal of power came to be concentrated in the hands of the princesses themselves.³

Another key theme of Seleucid dynastic organisation was its dyarchism: the culture of dyarchy became established in the dynasty from the point at which Seleucus I made his son Antiochus I his co-king as part of his successful attempt to avert an amphimetric dispute

in his own generation. Dyarchism was unproblematic so long as the two kings were father and son, but it became extremely deleterious when the kingships were occupied by men in a different relationship to each other. After the death of Antiochus II the two (effective) kingships came to be occupied by competing full brothers, his sons Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, in the context of the 'Fratricidal War'. Doubtless the cultural availability of dyarchy within the dynasty favoured the development of this rather exceptional case of strife between full brothers, although their mother's favouritism for the cadet was also a significant factor. Later on, the two effective kingships came to be occupied by competing collateral lines drawn from the full brothers Antiochus IV and Seleucus IV (although these full brothers did not themselves dispute with each other), and from this point the kingdom was continually riven by civil war until its demise. Even when one of these lines was extinguished, that of Antiochus IV, a new split emerged within the remaining line of Seleucus IV. The split was between the lines of his full-brother sons Demetrius II and Antiochus VII (although again these full brothers did not compete directly with each other). In both cases the splits were forced on the dynasty by the detention of the elder full brother by an external power, which compelled the younger brother to take the throne and establish his own family in rule.

Seleucus I Nicator as a bastard

Seleucus I was himself attributed with bastard birth. This phenomenon should not be related to any amphimetric dispute, but rather, as in the case of the birth-tales of the other dynasty founders, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Philetaerus, it represents a mythical claim on Seleucus' part justifying his kingship and that of his line:

Seleucus' valour also was distinguished, and his origin was miraculous. His mother Laodice, it seems, after she had been married to Antiochus, a distinguished general of Philip's, dreamed that she conceived by sleeping with Apollo, and that, having been made pregnant, she was given a ring by the god as a reward for the sex. Its stone was engraved with an anchor. Apollo bade her give it to the son she was to bear. The discovery of a ring with the same engraving in the bed the next day made it clear that the vision had been miraculous, as did the appearance of the sign of the anchor on the thigh of the tiny Seleucus himself. Therefore Laodice gave the ring to Seleucus as he was setting out on the Persian campaign with Alexander the Great, and she told him about his origin... Proof of his origin endured also among his descendants, since his sons and grandsons

had anchors on their thighs as if they were natural tokens of their family.
Justin 15.4.2–10⁴

The tale also has much in common with the tales of Olympias' conception of Alexander by Zeus/Ammon in the shape of a snake (chapter 1), and indeed a passing reference of Libanius implies that the Seleucids were to claim to have drawn their descent, like the Argeads, from Temenos.⁵

The family of Seleucus I Nicator

<i>Apama</i>	<i>Stratonice</i>	<i>Wife X?</i>
Antiochus I Soter	Phila	Nysa?
Apama		
Laodice i		

Seleucus' first known wife was Apama, the noble daughter of the Sogdian Spitamenes (or possibly of the Achaemenid Artabazus), who was given to him by Alexander in the mass weddings at Susa in 324.⁶ Of all the Macedonian nobles involved in the marriages to Persian brides at Susa, Seleucus is the only one who can definitely be said to have held on to his Persian wife, to have maintained her in a position of honour and to have reared a son and heir from her. He had good reason to hold on to his Persian wife: she was a valuable token of legitimacy (in the broader sense) to Seleucus in his claim to be lord of Persia. Just as Seleucus had attempted to link himself to the royal family of Macedon, the Argeads, so too he attempted to link Apama with both the Argeads and the Persian royal family, the Achaemenids: he had her portrayed as a daughter of Alexander and Roxane, with Roxane in turn being portrayed as a daughter of Darius III.⁷ The significance of Seleucus' union with Apama was dramatically embodied in a pair of Seleucus' city foundations: a city named after him, Seleuceia, and a city named after his wife, Apamea, faced each other across the Euphrates at Zeugma ('Yoke'), joined by a bridge.⁸

John Malalas explicitly says that Apama died before Seleucus (in 298) took on his second wife, the prestigious Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁹ Malalas is a shockingly confused source, as even casual perusal of his account of Seleucid history reveals, and we may be tempted to consider the claim no more than a monogamist's misapprehension based upon the fact of the second marriage. But Malalas may in this instance be vindicated, since 298 is the last year in which Apama is epigraphically attested.¹⁰ A number of scholars have oddly claimed rather that Apama was divorced to make way for Stratonice,¹¹ but if Apama did continue to live it is more appropriate to

assume, for want of information to the contrary, that she remained Seleucus' wife, given that the Argeads, the Antigonids (including Demetrius Poliorcetes himself) and the Ptolemies were all polygamous at this point.¹² Some degree of continuing status was guaranteed to Apama, if she was still alive, by the fact that Seleucus depended upon a son of hers, Antiochus, for the succession, at least until Stratonice should produce a son (which she never did for Seleucus). It is probable that Antiochus was either the only son Seleucus ever had, or at least the only one to survive to adulthood, or the only one born prior to the marriage to Stratonice. This is the implication of the memorable description of Antiochus that Plutarch puts into Seleucus' mouth:

The only anchor of our storm-tossed house. Plutarch *Demetrius* 38¹³

John Malalas mentions that Seleucus also fathered two daughters, Apama and Laodice, and explicitly asserts that Apama was their mother.¹⁴ Antiochus I was apparently the eldest of Apama's three children, since Appian describes him as 'the adult one (*teleios*) of Seleucus' children' prior to Seleucus' marriage to Stratonice.¹⁵ (If neither of the girls was adult by 298, then it is unlikely that either of them was given in marriage to Sandracottus/Chandragupta in 303, as some have thought.)¹⁶ Justin's vague reference to Seleucus' plural 'sons' (*fili*, quoted above) should not be pressed too hard, since the term is part of a phrase which appears to be intended to denote his descendants in general, although it may at a stretch indicate that Seleucus at some point produced another son.¹⁷ The suggestion that Achaeus was a younger brother of Antiochus I is unpersuasive.¹⁸

No good case can be made for the attestation of other marriages by Seleucus prior to the Stratonice union. Stephanus of Byzantium tells that the Seleucid foundation of Antioch was named after Antiochus I's mother, which implies that Seleucus had a wife called Antiochis.¹⁹ But then Stephanus is certainly wrong about her being the mother of Antiochus, unless 'Antiochis' is taken to be a hellenised name given in addition to Apama. Appian's vague remarks on Seleucus' marriage alliance in 303 are also compatible with Seleucus' having received a bride from the Indian king. It is just possible that Antiochus I's wife Nysa was his sister (see next section). If so, she is likely to have been his half-sister rather than his full one (in view of the relative silence of our sources). She is also unlikely to have been born of Stratonice, since Plutarch makes it fairly clear that she bore only Phila to Seleucus before she was passed on to Antiochus himself, and since Antiochus would thus have been marrying a mother and daughter pair, which

again would probably have been remarked upon in the sources. So if Antiochus did indeed marry a sister, we should posit a third union for Seleucus. At any rate Antiochus had been groomed as heir from before the marriage to Stratonice: he was made viceroy of all the provinces beyond the Euphrates in 301 after the battle of Ipsus.²⁰

That the Stratonice marriage did, however, constitute some sort of threat to Antiochus (*Fig. 6*) is recognised by Plutarch, who justifies the union with reference to overriding politico-military considerations:

A little later Seleucus sent and made a suit for the hand of Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius and Phila. He had a son, Antiochus, by the Persian Apama, but he considered that his kingdom was sufficient to accommodate many successors, and that he had need of this relationship with Demetrius, since he saw that Lysimachus too was taking on one of Ptolemy's daughters for himself [Arsinoe II], and a second for his son Agathocles [Lysandra].
Plutarch *Demetrius* 31

Our sources seldom preserve details of the logistics, form and pomp of hellenistic royal marriages. The wedding of Stratonice to Seleucus is one of the few exceptions:

His wife Phila was already by his [Demetrius'] side. Seleucus met him at Rhossus. From the start they made their encounter a royal one, and one without trickery or suspicion. First Seleucus feasted Demetrius in his tent in his camp, and then Demetrius received Seleucus in return on his thirteen-oar-banked ship. There were leisure activities, common discussions and days spent together without guards or weapons, until Seleucus received Stratonice in splendid fashion and went up to Antioch.
Plutarch *Demetrius* 32²¹

By Stratonice Seleucus was soon to have a daughter, Phila (named for Stratonice's mother).²² This pregnancy must have caused a great deal



Fig. 6. Antiochus I.
Silver tetradrachm.
British Museum 1947-4-6-500
C145.17 obv.
© British Museum.

of anxiety for Antiochus, and therefore for Seleucus too, as he came to contemplate the implications of amphimetric strife in his dynasty. Disaster was averted this time when the child turned out to be a girl, but the experience was no doubt salutary. To ensure that his fears were not realised, Seleucus took the strange and imaginative step of passing Stratonice on as bride to Antiochus himself in 292. Our sources heavily romanticise the circumstances of this decision, portraying Antiochus as falling in love with his young stepmother:

For it happened, as it seems, that Antiochus fell in love with Stratonice, who was a young woman, but already had a child by Seleucus, and he was in a bad way. He did much to resist his emotion, but in the end he condemned himself for his terrible desires, for his incurable sickness and for the fact that his reason had been overcome. So he sought a way of escaping from life and gradually enfeebled his body by neglect and abstinence from food, whilst pretending that he was sick of some disease. But the doctor Erasistratus realised without difficulty that he was in love... And so Seleucus gathered a full assembly of the people and said that he wished and had indeed resolved to declare Antiochus king of the Upper Satrapies and to declare Stratonice his queen: they were to live together as man and wife. He said that he thought his son, who was used to obeying him completely and following his will would not refuse in the matter of the marriage. And, in case his wife was upset by this unusual procedure, he invited his friends to tell her and persuade her to consider the beneficial decisions of a king to be fine and just.²³ Anyway, they say that the marriage of Antiochus and Stratonice was brought about for a reason of this kind.

Plutarch *Demetrius* 38

Elaborate details concerning the role of Erasistratus are omitted from this quotation; he allegedly discovered that it was Stratonice with whom Antiochus was in love by observing his reaction to her as she visited him. Erasistratus was a distinguished historical personage, but was in fact too young to have had any connection with these events.²⁴ The tale of a romance between a young adult son and his young late-married stepmother is again reminiscent of the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus.²⁵ Closer still to this myth is a second and in some ways mirroring love story that Lucian associates with Stratonice (indeed he makes the comparison explicit): whilst still with Seleucus she fell in love with Combabos who had been assigned to protect her, but he had taken the precaution of castrating himself to preserve his trust with the king. This tale is, however, far from historical: it is a reworking of the ancient Mesopotamian myth of Humbaba, and an aetiology of the Gallois.²⁶

The step Seleucus took had partial precedents: the transfer of the

bride to his designated successor was a kind of levirate movement *inter vivos*:²⁷ it was therefore a very appropriate way to mark out and legitimate a chosen heir. It is particularly significant that Seleucus on the occasion of this new marriage, even though he himself still lived, declared the couple actual king and queen of the Upper Satrapies (over which Antiochus had already enjoyed rule). Antiochus thus gained in advance not only the wife but also the title he expected upon his father's death. The two were, in a way, associated. It did indeed make good sense to place the troublesome Eastern dominions under the direct control of an ever-present king, given the centrifugal tendencies of the empire,²⁸ but it was surely dynastic considerations that were uppermost in Seleucus' mind at this time. The prestigious Stratonice now no longer constituted a threat to the stability of the dynasty, for by giving her to Antiochus Seleucus consolidated the strands of his descent and of his legitimacy.

Plutarch implies that Stratonice's father Demetrius Poliorcetes was pleased to hear of the swap,²⁹ and we can believe this, even though his prerogatives as the girl's father were flouted. Stratonice's long-term prospects in the dynasty were now much better than they had been, since Antiochus had, of course, been as much of a threat to her as she had to him. The prospects were better also for her future offspring, and for their eventual arrival upon the throne. Better too were the long-term prospects for friendship and co-operation between the Seleucid and the Antigonid dynasties.³⁰

It is just possible that Seleucus had in mind some oriental precedents when making this gesture. Levirate succession is attested in the Achaemenid dynasty: Darius I took over the wives of Cambyses II and Bardiya/Smerdis; however, Brosius thinks that this was an exceptional gesture by Darius, who needed to do all he could to bolster his (general) legitimacy, since his right to the throne was tenuous.³¹ Still, the precedent of this man, who had so forcefully made his presence felt upon the Greeks and Macedonians, may well have seemed particularly weighty to the Seleucids.

This new legitimacy system of Seleucus did not catch on, despite its fortunate result in this generation. But it did bequeath a legacy to the dynasty, and that too an ultimately debilitating and disastrous one: it was the origin of the culture of dyarchy, of dual kingship, in the family, which became its undoing once the pairs of kings began to fight each other.

Despite Plutarch's quoted description of the installation of Antiochus I as king, it is worth noting that the Seleucids, like the other hellenistic monarchies and the Argeads before them, seem never to

have developed elaborate coronation ceremonies: a missed opportunity for the reinforcement of legitimacy (in the broader and the narrower senses).³²

The family of Antiochus I Soter

<i>Stratonice</i>	<i>Nysa?</i>
Seleucus	Laodice ii?
Antiochus II Theos	
Stratonice?	
Apama?	

Antiochus I acceded in 281 after his father was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus. He got both his known sons, Seleucus and Antiochus II, and perhaps two of his known daughters, Stratonice³³ and Apama,³⁴ from Stratonice. Stratonice (the wife) was given an honorific mention on an Akkadian cylinder with a building inscription from Borsippa in the year 268. This mention of a queen constitutes an apparent break with Babylonian building-inscription tradition, and may therefore mark her out as playing an outstanding role in comparison with Persian queens. In this inscription she is given the epithets *šarratu* and *hirtu*, which Sherwin-White and Kuhrt translate respectively as 'queen' and 'principal wife'—terms indicative of Stratonice's precedence but also of a polygamous situation.³⁵ It is indeed likely that Antiochus had at least one additional wife too. The further evidence for this is difficult, and so is laid out here in a duly cautious fashion, with the main difficulties, such as they are, indicated within brackets. Stephanus of Byzantium tells that Antiochus I named the city of Nysa after his wife Nysa.³⁶ (However, Stephanus is probably wrong in the information he gives adjacently about Antioch being named after Antiochus I's mother, as we have seen.)³⁷ Polyaeus tells of Antiochus I's son Antiochus II that in marrying Laodice he married his paternal half-sister (*homopatrimon adelphēn*).³⁸ This also implies that Antiochus I had another wife in addition to Stratonice, the mother of Antiochus II: this may be a reference to the same Nysa, or to another wife. (When Porphyry tells that Laodice the wife of Antiochus I was a daughter of Achaeus, he is probably confusing her with the Laodice that married Seleucus II; many modern scholars believe Porphyry, however.)³⁹ An inscription refers to an unnamed wife of Antiochus I as a 'sister-queen' (*adelphē basilissa*). This may mean that, like his son, Antiochus I married a sister.⁴⁰ If Antiochus I did indeed marry his sister, then it is more likely, in view of the quietness of the sources, that she was in fact his half-sister. (However, it is usually thought that this title should be read

purely honorifically, and so it may well refer to Stratonice, or, indeed, to a non-sibling Nysa: we know at least that Laodice v, the wife of Antiochus III, was also subsequently given the title 'sister-wife' and that she was in fact not Antiochus III's sister but his cousin; see below.)

Antiochus I associated Seleucus, his eldest son by Stratonice, on the throne with him around 280, but then executed him for conspiracy *c.* 268–6.⁴¹ We are given no context for this dispute, but the other known examples of executions of sons by fathers in the hellenistic world occurred in the context of keen amphimetric disputes: this was the case with Lysimachus' execution of Agathocles, with Philip V's execution of Demetrius and with Ptolemy VIII's execution of Ptolemy Memphites. Perhaps then Seleucus had caused ructions out of fear of half-brothers, actual or potential, from the womb of the rival wife.

Let us pursue the implications of the possibility that Laodice's mother was a true sister-wife. When was this 'sister-wife', Laodice's mother, married by Antiochus I? Beloch calculates that Laodice must have been married to Antiochus II by around 267, when he was associated on the throne after the execution of his brother Seleucus.⁴² She must then have been born by the late 280s, which would constitute a *terminus ante quem* for Antiochus I's marriage to his sister. The marriage therefore took place whilst Seleucus I was still alive, and it must at the very least have had his blessing, even if he was allowing his son to function as an independent king, since as her father he was the bride's guardian. More intriguing still is the consideration that this sister-marriage, if it was such, antedated that between Ptolemy Ceraunus and Arsinoe II. In other words, Ceraunus may have derived the notion of sister-marriage from the court in which he stayed as such a bad guest.

If, then, Antiochus I did marry his half sister, and he married her before the Ptolemies became involved with sister-marriage, where did he get the idea from? He need not have got it from anywhere: 'incestuous' marriage perhaps entices any dynasty that claims to set itself above other people. But if Antiochus did look for a marital model, two were available. The first was—let us not forget—the Argead dynasty itself. It is fairly certain that Archelaus had orchestrated a marriage between his son Amyntas by an unknown mother and his daughter (by Cleopatra?). We also saw that it was possible that Ptolemy of Alorus was a son of Amyntas III, which would have made his marriage to Eurynoe, Amyntas' daughter by Eurydice, a half-sibling one (see chapter 1).

But he could also have looked for a model to the local dynasty to which the Seleucids were indirect successors: the Achaemenid⁴³ rulers

of Persia.⁴⁴ The weight of their precedent may be imagined to have been particularly pressing given that Antiochus was himself the son of a Persian noblewoman and that Alexander had himself married the Persian women Barsine-Stateira and Parysatis in a Persian ceremony and very possibly in accordance with an aspect of Achaemenid marital practice (see chapter 2).

It may well be significant, therefore, that Achaemenid kings did employ, amongst other things, sibling-marriage.⁴⁵ There is an apparently unproblematic example of *maternal* half-sibling marriage: that of Darius II (ruled 423-404) to Parysatis.⁴⁶ More problematic—perhaps—is the famous case of Cambyses II (ruled 529-522), who, according to Herodotus, married two full sisters although ‘the Persians had in no way previously practised the custom of marrying their sisters’, and although he made the matches only after receiving a sophistical permission from his royal judges.⁴⁷ In her superb account of women in ancient Persia, Maria Brosius places much weight on Herodotus’ denial that such marriages were customary, and queries the actuality of Cambyses’ marriages from two angles. First, she suggests that the tale may originate in Egyptian anti-Persian propaganda against Cambyses. But why should his full-sister marriages be held against him by the people of the full-sister-marrying Pharaohs? Secondly, she properly notes that for Herodotus Cambyses’ marriages to his full sisters are evidence of his insanity (as is his murder of one of them whilst she was pregnant), and that they cannot therefore be taken as indicative of general Achaemenid practice. But it could well be that the reading of these ‘incestuous’ marriages as ‘mad’ was merely a reading convenient to the prejudices and immediate narrative project of Herodotus. It could also be argued that we have too little evidence for the marriages of the other Achaemenid kings (with the exception of the admittedly exceptional Darius I) to be sure that Cambyses’ marriages were completely untypical of the dynasty, before or after his reign. Brosius’ main objection to the possibility that Cambyses married his full sisters depends upon an appeal to the supposed universal incest taboo. The documented activities of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies and the later Seleucids as discussed elsewhere in this book are sufficient to counter this objection.⁴⁸ Even if Herodotus was completely wrong about Cambyses, he represents the Greek world’s perception of what the Achaemenids did, and this too could have influenced the Seleucids. According to Plutarch and Curtius, Darius III married his sister Stateira; we are not told whether she was full or half, but Brosius, for obvious reasons, prefers that she should have been half.⁴⁹

Other sorts of 'incestuous' unions are also found: according to Plutarch and Heraclides, Artaxerxes II (ruled 404–c. 360) married his own daughters, Atossa and Amestris.⁵⁰ Brosius, however, doubts that these unions occurred, and compares the information to that concerning the sister marriages of Cambyses II.⁵¹ Darius I (ruled 522–486) married his niece Phratagune;⁵² Artaxerxes III (ruled 359–343) married the daughter of his sister.⁵³ Antisthenes indeed claimed that the Persians in general had sex with their mothers, sisters and daughters.⁵⁴

Whilst dwelling on Achaemenid practice, let us also observe that, as the Cambyses episode, amongst other royal examples, makes clear, the dynasty was undoubtedly polygamous.⁵⁵ According to Herodotus, an Achaemenid king's wives had to be chosen not only from amongst the Persians, but from among the seven noble Persian families.⁵⁶ The kings also kept vast numbers of concubines: Darius III (ruled 336–331) had 360, according to Diodorus, Plutarch and Deinon,⁵⁷ or 300, according to Heraclides of Cyme.⁵⁸ Indeed Herodotus asserts that each ordinary Persian had several wives and concubines and that the father of the largest number of children in a single year was rewarded.⁵⁹ The roles of royal concubines were taken by non-Persian women (and presumably also by Persian women from outside the seven families). Thus, according to Herodotus, the Egyptian Pharaoh Amasis refused to give a daughter in marriage to Cambyses on the ground that she would be kept only as a concubine.⁶⁰ Brosius argues that there was a hard and fast legitimacy-differentiation between the groups of children produced from these two categories of women. Darius II is said to have been illegitimate (*nothos*) by Herodotus and Ctesias.⁶¹ Artaxerxes I is said to have had 17 'bastard' sons.⁶² According to Plutarch, Artaxerxes II had three 'legitimate' sons and one 'illegitimate' one.⁶³ Plutarch also speaks of a 'legitimate' (*gnēsia*) wife of Artaxerxes.⁶⁴

The role of ambitious mothers in this polygamous situation is not clear. For Brosius, Atossa achieved her supreme status only after Darius I had selected her son Xerxes as his heir;⁶⁵ for Sancisi-Weerdenburg, however, it was Atossa's initial influence that secured the choice of Xerxes as heir.⁶⁶

The family of Antiochus II Theos

Laodice ii	Wife X?	Berenice Phernophoros
Seleucus II Callinicus	Apames?	Son
Antiochus Hierax		
Apama		
Stratonice		
Laodice iii		

Antiochus II came to the throne in 261, by which time he was already married to Laodice (he died in 246). As we have seen, she was probably his paternal half-sister. From Laodice Antiochus certainly had two sons, Seleucus II Callinicus⁶⁷ and Antiochus Hierax ('the Hawk'), and two daughters, Stratonice and Laodice.⁶⁸ A further child of Antiochus II (other than that by Berenice) is referred to in a Babylonian text, 'Apammu', i.e. Apama or Apames.⁶⁹ If female, Apama, she may have been born of Laodice; if male, Apames, Porphyry (as quoted below) requires us to ascribe him to an otherwise unknown mother. This family-structure was overturned by Ptolemy II Philadelphus around 252, when he constrained Antiochus II by war to marry his daughter Berenice 'Phernophoros'⁷⁰ and to divorce Laodice and reduce her to the status of concubine. This was to be the first but by no means the last Egyptian interference in the structure of the dynasty. The events surrounding this are narrated in the greatest detail by Porphyry:

[Antiochus II Theos] waged very many wars against Ptolemy [II] Philadelphus, who was the second to rule Egypt, and he fought him bitterly with all the forces of Babylon and the East. After many years Ptolemy Philadelphus wished to put an end to the tiresome struggle, and gave his daughter, Berenice by name, to Antiochus as wife. Antiochus had two sons by his former wife, who was called Laodice: Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, and the second, Antiochus. Ptolemy escorted her as far as Pelusium, and gave her infinite amounts of gold and silver by way of dowry. From this she was given the title of Phernophoros, i.e. 'Dowry-bringer'. Antiochus declared that he had Berenice as a sharer in his kingdom, and Laodice in the role of concubine. But after some time Antiochus was overcome by love and brought back Laodice with her children into his palace [246 BC]. But she was fearful that her husband could not commit himself between the two of them, so she had him killed with poison through agents, so that he should not bring Berenice back. She gave the job of killing Berenice, together with the son of Antiochus that she had borne, to the rulers of Antioch, Icadion and Gennaëus. She established her own elder son Seleucus [II] Callinicus as king in his father's place... When Berenice had been killed and her father Ptolemy Philadelphus had died in Egypt, her brother, himself too a Ptolemy [III], surnamed Euergetes, succeeded third to the kingdom...he came with a large army and invaded the territory of the king of the North, that is of Seleucus surnamed Callinicus, who was ruling in Syria alongside his mother Laodice, and he treated them harshly, and even managed to capture Syria and Cilicia and the Upper Satrapies beyond the Euphrates and almost the whole of Asia.

Porphyry *FGH* 260 F43 (= Jerome *In Daniele* 11.6a)

Appian concurs in the poignant detail—perhaps too poignant—that Antiochus' marriage to Laodice had been a love match.⁷¹ It will

certainly have been stipulated by Philadelphus that Antiochus II was to get his successor from Berenice.⁷² The widely-held misconception that Argead and hellenistic kings were monogamous, and its concomitant, that the repudiation of wives by hellenistic kings was a common event, has obscured the singular nature of this episode. For Bouché-Leclercq and Will it was a chief and malicious aim of Philadelphus precisely to sow discord at the Syrian court:⁷³ an act of legitimacy warfare, perhaps, by one who understood all too well the devastating effect of amphimetric strife. This could be the only result of the forced delegitimation of established, adult heirs and the creation of new ones. If we are to retain any doubt that it was not Philadelphus' purpose to bring about amphimetric strife in the dynasty, it will be because Philadelphus will thus have been consciously putting his daughter and her future offspring into a situation of great peril. But then perhaps he considered them expendable.

Antiochus did what he could to compensate Laodice for her repudiation, and in so doing contrived to heighten the ambivalence of legitimacy in his dynasty: he sold to her for a nominal sum extensive lands at Borsippa and Babylon, and relieved them of tax, so that she could maintain herself lavishly from their revenues. Elaborate inscriptions survive to record the sales.⁷⁴ Whilst Antiochus attempted to undermine his divorce from Laodice, Philadelphus built up the legitimacy of Berenice with elaborate acts of betrothal (*engyē*) and handing-over (*ekdosis*). The betrothal agreement was doubtless identical with the peace-treaty that ended the war.⁷⁵ (It is doubtful whether Berenice did indeed acquire the epithet Phernophoros from bringing gold and silver in her trousseau; more probably, the dowry that she brought was the fictitious title to the disputed land of Coele Syria.)⁷⁶ Philadelphus speeded his plan by sending Berenice the water of the fertile Nile to promote conception.⁷⁷ She soon produced a son.

The chain of events surrounding the final demise of Antiochus II is murky. It appears from the Porphyry passage quoted above that Antiochus restored Laodice to a full position of honour before his death. It may be suspected that his death in 246 was in fact due to natural causes, as Polyaeus (quoted below) implies,⁷⁸ rather than the poison of Laodice (a detail also provided by Appian and Phylarchus),⁷⁹ but the reasoning Porphyry attributes to her in taking this extreme step makes perfectly good sense in the context of the passions aroused within amphimetric disputes. If he did die of natural causes, then we will owe the tale of the poisoning to Ptolemaic propaganda. A yet more dramatic account actually has Laodice employ an impostor to impersonate her

husband in order to alter the terms of his will in favour of her children.⁸⁰ As Porphyry tells, Laodice had Seleucus II proclaimed king.

The question of legitimate title to the throne in the dynasty was now a *Machtsfrage*, and one that Laodice and Seleucus and their partisans were able to win easily by murdering Berenice and her son at Antioch: as pure an example of amphimetric murder as ever there was.⁸¹ It has been suggested by Jähne and Green that a policy difference underlay this amphimetric dispute: Laodice nailed her flag to the maintenance of Syria's 'competitive independence' from Egypt, whereas Berenice nailed hers to the achievement of a 'co-operative alliance'.⁸²

Curiously, the murder may not have been immediately successful. Polyaeus explains:

Antiochus [II], called Theos, took Laodice as wife, and from her his son Seleucus [II] was born. He took a second wife, Berenice, the daughter of king Ptolemy [Philadelphus]. He died leaving her with an infant son, and designated Seleucus as successor to his kingdom. Laodice contrived that the child born of Berenice was killed by a trick. Berenice went out as a suppliant to the crowd, asking her subjects for pity and help. But the killers of the boy produced before the people another one, who was very similar to the one who had been killed, and so that he should seem to be the real boy, they packed a royal retinue around him. But Berenice was given a guard of Gallic mercenaries, and the strongest part of the palace, and they offered to swear an oath and make a treaty with her. The doctor Aristarchus, whom Berenice had with her, advised her to make peace with them and she trusted him. But they used the swearing of the oath as a stratagem, and immediately attacked Berenice and killed her. Her ladies in waiting tried to defend her, and many were killed. But Panariste, Mania and Gethosyne buried the body of Berenice in the ground, and placed another woman in her bed, as if Berenice was still alive and in the process of recovering from the wound she had received in the attack. And for a while they convinced the subjects, until Ptolemy, the murdered woman's father, whom they summoned, could come. Sending out letters inscribed with the names of the murdered boy and the killed Berenice, as if they were still alive, they conquered in war and battle from the Taurus as far as India, employing the stratagem of Panariste.

Polyaeus 8.50⁸³

In fact Philadelphus was already dead, and it was his successor, Ptolemy III, Berenice's brother, that answered the call for help, only to find her and her son dead upon his arrival, as Justin makes clear. Polyaeus' tale may seem incredible (not least perhaps because it seems so symmetrical with Valerius Maximus' tale of Laodice's use of an impostor-Antiochus), but it appears to be supported by the remarkable Gurob papyrus which demonstrates that Ptolemy III

actually perpetuated the pretence that Berenice was still alive: in this report he claims to have had an audience with his sister upon his arrival at Antioch.⁸⁴

In due course Seleucus II became embroiled in a civil war, the appropriately named 'Fratricidal War', with his younger *full* brother, Antiochus Hierax.⁸⁵ This conflict is a striking violation of the general rule that full siblings co-operated with each other peaceably in the hellenistic world. Unfortunately the details of the dispute are not very clear, but special circumstances of a sort can be pointed to, of which the dynasty's dyarchic culture is an obvious one. During the war against Ptolemy III in the aftermath of the murder of Berenice, the 'Third Syrian' or 'Laodicean war', Seleucus had found it expedient to allow his cadet brother the kingdom's second title of 'king', at some point between 242 and 237.⁸⁶ This was a dangerous new development because Antiochus was not Seleucus' son and heir, and because he was not, initially at any rate, given a specific territory to reign over. Perhaps the taste of rule simply went to Antiochus' head: Justin points the finger at his criminal greed for power⁸⁷ (and compare Plutarch as quoted below). It is also noteworthy that during the course of the Fratricidal War Antiochus appears to have been supported by Ptolemy III, as Seleucus at one point during it attempted to capture Ephesus, which was a Lagid possession.⁸⁸ In becoming Ptolemy's man, Antiochus perhaps came to occupy the structural position vacated by his dead half-brother.

But the most telling circumstance of this exceptional dispute is the fact that the cadet son Antiochus was spurred on by their common mother, Laodice:

One might find fault with Antiochus' love of power, but admire the fact that his love for his brother was not made to disappear completely by it. For he fought with Seleucus for the kingship, although he was the younger brother, and he had his mother aiding him.

Plutarch *Moralia* 489a⁸⁹

Laodice's influence over Antiochus cannot be doubted, since he was only 14 at the outbreak of the Fratricidal War.⁹⁰ The dispute therefore comes to appear remarkably similar in shape to the other exceptional hellenistic full-brother dispute, that between Antipater and Alexander V, the sons of Cassander, in which their common mother Thessalonice had apparently similarly supported her younger son Alexander against her elder son Antipater. These two cases in themselves slightly undermine the integrity of the amphimetric principle, but at the same time throw important and confirmatory light upon its general validity.

For they bear witness to the strength of a mother's influence over her children, and this influence plays such an important part in the structuring of amphimetric disputes. They demonstrate also the strength of the subordinate principle that full-brother lines and their mothers normally respected primogeniture amongst themselves. It was only when their common mother perversely overturned the rule of primogeniture within her own line that full brothers could be expected to fall out and to compete.

The family of Seleucus II Callinicus Pogon

<i>Laodice iv</i>	<i>Mysta?</i>	<i>Nysa?</i>
Seleucus III		
Antiochus III		
Antiochis		

The reigns of the next two Seleucid kings, the Seleucuses II and III, were uneventful in dynastic terms, and so may be dealt with quickly. Seleucus II (ruled 246–226) was less than 20 when he acceded to the throne. His only certain marriage was to Laodice the daughter of Achaeus and the sister of Andromachus, a family which may already have been related to the dynasty.⁹¹ The family of Achaeus also provided the Attalids with a bride.⁹² Laodice was the mother of the only sons Seleucus is known to have had, Seleucus III and Antiochus III. The mother of his daughter Antiochis is unknown, but may well also have been Laodice. Antiochis was given as bride to Xerxes of Armenia by her brother Antiochus III in 212, by which time she already had at least one adult son, Mithridates.⁹³ Polyaeus also makes reference to a 'wife' (*gynē*) of Seleucus II called Mysta, who wore 'royal' clothes (whatever this means).⁹⁴ However, Athenaeus, quoting Phylarchus and Ptolemy of Megalopolis, refers to her as his mistress, alongside another one called Nysa, and the adventurous tale associated with her name would appear to fit a courtesan better.⁹⁵ She is not known to have produced any children. Seleucus refused an offer of marriage from his aunt Stratonice, daughter of Antiochus I and former wife of the Antigoniid Demetrius II Aetolicus, during the Fratricidal War. As a result of his refusal she raised Antioch against him, presumably now taking the part of Hierax. Seleucus had her executed.⁹⁶

Seleucus II was briefly succeeded by his eldest son, Seleucus III (ruled 226–223). He is not known to have taken a wife, nor to have sired a child.⁹⁷ According to Appian he was poisoned by his courtiers because of his ineptitude with the army.⁹⁸

The family of Antiochus III the Great

Laodice v

Antiochus the Son
Seleucus IV
Antiochus IV
Mithridates?
Ardys?
Cleopatra I the Syrian
Laodice vi
Antiochis of Cappadocia
Another daughter

Euboea

Daughter?

Antiochus III (ruled 223–187; *Fig. 7*) is the Seleucid king about whom we know most, owing to his conflict with Rome. This is useful, because he was also a great dynastic innovator, and inaugurated the second major phase in the dynasty's marital organisation.

Antiochus' first wife, Laodice v, was his cousin, being the daughter of Mithridates II of Pontus and his aunt Laodice iii, daughter of Antiochus II.⁹⁹ The magnificence of the handing-over (*ekdosis*) of the bride in 221 and that of the wedding celebrations themselves and Laodice's formal proclamation as queen by Antiochus are related by Polybius:

At this time he was at Seleuceia at Zeugma (the Euphrates Bridge), and his admiral Diognetos had arrived there too from Pontic Cappadocia with Laodice the daughter of king Mithridates. She was a virgin, but had been declared wife (*gynē*) to the king... Antiochus took the girl over with the fitting reception and pomp and immediately completed the marriage with splendid and royal paraphernalia. After the completion of the marriage he went down to Antioch, declared Laodice a queen (*basilissa*), and for the rest turned his attention to the preparations for war.

Polybius 5.43



Fig. 7. Antiochus III.
Silver tetradrachm.
British Museum
BMC 28 PCG V A 13 obv.
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Diognetos was a Seleucid officer, not a Pontic one, so the real handing-over (*ekdosis*) took place at the Pontic court.¹⁰⁰ Vatin notes how Polybius carefully distinguishes the stages in the developing status of Laodice: 1) given into the care of Diognetos she is 'called wife', but remains a virgin, since the king has not yet been able to consummate the union; 2) Antiochus celebrates the wedding, after which, no doubt, the union is indeed consummated and Laodice is actually transformed into his wife; 3) Laodice is proclaimed a queen.¹⁰¹ The most striking aspect of this development is the separation between Laodice's status as wife and her status as a queen. In engineering such a distinction, Antiochus was paving the way for a clear and public hierarchisation between legitimate lines of descent. The union was fruitful and produced seven known children.¹⁰² It is testimony to the success of the differentiation Antiochus achieved that all of his three heirs, prospective and actual, were drawn from this line.

In 209 Antiochus promoted his eldest son, Antiochus 'the Son', to the second kingship, as Babylonian records show.¹⁰³ The boy was still only 11 or 12 years old at the time. The proclamation was made in advance of Antiochus III's expedition into Upper Asia, and was doubtless designed to ensure a smooth succession, should the expedition go awry. Had things gone awry, Laodice would have effectively become regent.

Antiochus III subsequently took innovative steps also with the marriages of his three daughters and his sister:

[Antiochus III] made sacrifice in celebration of the marriage of his children, Antiochus ['the Son'] and Laodice [in 195], joining them together with each other. He had already decided to reveal openly his war against the Romans, and he decided to bring over to his side in advance the nearby kings with marriage alliances. To Ptolemy [V] in Egypt [in 195] he sent Cleopatra [I], who was given the surname of 'The Syrian', and he gave in addition as a dowry Coele Syria, which he himself had taken off Ptolemy. He was already from this point paying court to the lad, so that he would keep quiet during the war with the Romans. He sent Antiochis to Ariarathes [IV] the king of the Cappadocians [around 195], and he sent the daughter he had left to Eumenes [II], king of Pergamum [in 193]. But he, since he saw already that Antiochus was going to go to war with the Romans, and was attempting to forge the marriage-link with him for this end, refused her...

Appian Syrian Wars 4–5¹⁰⁴

In addition to these matches, Polybius tells that in 212 Antiochus III had married off his sister, also Antiochis, to Xerxes of Armenia (she went on to kill him),¹⁰⁵ and that in 206 he had offered the hand of a daughter to the Bactrian prince Demetrius.¹⁰⁶ We do not know

whether this offer was accomplished, or whether the daughter in question was one of those mentioned by Appian here. The marriage of Antiochus the Son to his full sister Laodice took place fourteen years after Antiochus III had associated his heir on the throne.¹⁰⁷ This was clearly intended to be a way of further legitimating Antiochus the Son's claim to the throne, and in particular the claims of his prospective children by Laodice: as Vatin observes, it was a 'double investiture'.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the bestowal of the fictional title of 'sister' upon Antiochus III's own Laodice paved the way for this step. It is unclear by what precedents Antiochus III was most strongly influenced here. The most immediate one would appear to have been the use of full sister-marriage in the Ptolemaic dynasty: the second full-sister marriage in it, that of Philopator, had occurred at some point prior to 210. But we should not forget that there had been half-sister marriage already in the Seleucid dynasty: it is possible that Antiochus I had married his half sister (and we saw that if this was a sister-marriage, then it may have influenced Ceraunus to introduce it into the Ptolemaic dynasty); it is fairly certain that Antiochus II's wife Laodice was his half-sister; Antiochus III was himself not all that far removed from sister-marriage in being married to his cousin. The sister-marriage precedents of old Achaemenid Persia perhaps seem rather more remote by this point.¹⁰⁹

It is clear that in Antiochus III's world to receive a daughter as bride was to accept the precedence and patronage of her father-in-law; the recipients, actual or prospective, of the daughters or the sister listed above were all either minor oriental vassal kings (Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Xerxes of Armenia, Demetrius of Bactria) or other hellenistic kings whom Antiochus had reduced or could claim to have reduced to a status of dependency upon him (Ptolemy and Eumenes).¹¹⁰ This was a new idea. It is noteworthy that it constituted the reverse of the Achaemenid custom, according to which one had asserted one's superiority over a subject king by marrying his daughter.¹¹¹ The new system meant that Antiochus' own heir could not of course accept an external bride. But it was no problem for Antiochus III's own son to recognise the precedence, and accept the patronage, of his own father. Laodice seems to have borne Antiochus the Son a daughter, Nysa, who is recorded in an inscription.¹¹²

However, Antiochus the Son died soon after his marriage to Laodice, in 193. But it is probable that this was not the end of sister-marriage in the dynasty. Antiochus the Son's two younger brothers, both of whom eventually succeeded, Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV,

were both married to a Laodice.¹¹³ She was probably the same sister, married by each of the brothers as a transferable token to advertise their privileged status as heir or king. And as she was transferred from one dead prince or king to the another, she acquired added value via levirate thinking, a version of which we have already seen in the Seleucid dynasty in the handing over of Stratonice by Seleucus I to Antiochus I.¹¹⁴ (Since Laodice was passed between brothers, the gesture was levirate in the full sense of the word.)

The unique source for the death of Antiochus the Son, Livy, is problematic:

Villius advanced to Apamea from Ephesus. When he heard of the arrival of the Roman ambassadors Antiochus [III] too hastened there... The death of king Antiochus [the Son] was reported, who, I said a little before, had been sent to Syria, and this caused the meeting to break up. There was great mourning in the palace, and the young man was very much missed. For he had already given sufficient example of his behaviour to show that the nature of a great king was in him, if a longer life had fallen to his lot. Because he was dear to and welcomed by all, the suspicion arose that his father had come to believe that a weighty successor such as he was constituted a threat to his own old age, and killed him through the agency of some eunuchs, creatures welcomed by kings for the services of such crimes. People also provided an explanation for this surreptitious crime: the fact that he had given Lysimacheia to his son Seleucus, but had not had a comparable seat to give to Antiochus, so that he could pack him off far away from himself by 'honouring' him. For several days the palace was occupied with a show of great mourning... Whilst the palace was shut up because of the mourning he developed secret plans with Minnio, the foremost of his friends. Livy 35.15

This tale does not inspire confidence: Livy is almost frank that he is recycling implausible slander (his purpose being to blacken the character of the current Enemy of Rome). The hypothesis of secret orders, the hypothesis of poison, the secret means of death, the bizarre hypothesis that the son was killed for being too good, the misleading suggestion that Antiochus III was significantly aged (he was 50 in 193), the barely intelligible hypothesis about the botched distribution of capitals, and the hypothesis of a massive, almost Tiberian, act of dissimulation on the part of Antiochus III in his display of grief are all things usefully remote from the realm of proof. We should conclude that Antiochus the Son died of natural causes while serving his father in Syria, and to his father's genuine distress.¹¹⁵ There is no dynastic dispute to account for here. If we were to believe that there was indeed a dispute here, no amphimetric context could be identified. There

may, theoretically, have been a policy-difference between Antiochus III and his son. Livy's praise of the boy (which is surely in reality lavished on him only to explain Antiochus III's malicious envy) might be compared with the praise he lavishes upon Demetrius the son of Philip V: did Antiochus the Son, like Demetrius, champion the pro-Roman cause at an anti-Roman court? At around the same time as these events in 193, whether before or afterwards is unclear, Antiochus III bestowed divine honours upon his wife. No less than three separate copies of inscriptions recording these honours survive, in which Laodice is referred to as a 'sister-queen' (*adelphē basilissa*).¹¹⁶ The significance of this honorific act—if any—for dynastic history is unclear.

In 191 Antiochus III went on to take another wife, Euboea, in the course of the 'First Syrian War' against Rome. Polybius tells the story:

Antiochus [III], the one called 'the Great', whom the Romans defeated, as Polybius says in his twentieth book, arrived at Chalcis in Euboea and celebrated a marriage. He was 52 years old and had taken upon himself the greatest of deeds, the liberation of the Greeks, as he himself proclaimed, and war against Rome. So, having fallen in love with a virgin of Chalcis at the time of the war, he was keen to marry her, being a drinker of wine and delighting in drunkenness. This girl was the daughter of Cleoptolemus, one of the distinguished citizens, and she surpassed all women in beauty. Whilst celebrating his marriage in Chalcis he spent the winter there, paying no attention whatsoever to the matters that pressed upon him. He gave the name Euboea to the girl. So, when he was defeated in war he retreated to Ephesus with his new bride.

Polybius 20.8

Laodice was still alive in 191; indeed she is attested as still alive as late as 177–6, when she was recorded in an inscription from the reign of her son Seleucus IV, after Antiochus III's death.¹¹⁷ For us there is little difficulty in supposing, in default of evidence to the contrary, that Antiochus III was bigamous, a view taken by Robert.¹¹⁸ Scholars of the 'monogamist' tendency, however, have argued that Laodice must have been repudiated, and some of them look to Livy's allegation about Antiochus III's murder of her son to provide a context for this (not that the details of Livy's allegations actually provide any reason for Antiochus III to have held Laodice herself in disfavour). Aymard, for example, argues that Laodice passed out of favour with the death of her first son Antiochus the Son, in 193, and did not return to it until her second son, Seleucus IV, was in turn installed as the kingdom's secondary king after an (embittered?) hiatus.¹¹⁹ The association of Seleucus IV on the throne is not attested until 188 (by Babylonian records), but may well have followed immediately the death of

Antiochus the Son.¹²⁰ Or, Aymard also speculates, perhaps she never did return to favour under Antiochus III, but was restored to a position of honour by her son Seleucus IV when he finally came to power himself. These hypotheses go a long way beyond the evidence.

The union with Euboea was an odd one for a hellenistic king to make. We should note that her background was not dissimilar to that of some of the royal courtesans (see chapter 9). Despite Polybius' representation of the Euboea episode as one of self-indulgent and negligent frivolity on Antiochus' part, it was manifestly a timely piece of philhellene propaganda, as the renaming of the bride above all attests¹²¹ (nor did Antiochus tarry unduly, as an analysis of the campaigns he undertook in 191 reveals).¹²² What was Euboea's actual status? As Polybius says, Euboea was a Chalcidian noblewoman (we can dismiss Livy's malicious description of her house as 'obscure'),¹²³ and as such she was given a very proper bourgeois marriage. Polybius speaks emphatically of marriage, and Diodorus makes it clear that Antiochus' subsequent partying was specifically in the course of the celebration of the marriage.¹²⁴ For Vatin the marriage was celebrated in the two registers of its partners: the formal bourgeois one and that of royal pomp. The bourgeois register may be indicated by Livy's detail (if it was in the original text of Polybius before Athenaeus simplified it) that Cleoptolemus had to be persuaded, initially against his better judgement, to give his daughter to Antiochus III: the king thus demonstrated his respect and deference for the rights and privileges of a free Greek man.¹²⁵ That Euboea became wife cannot be doubted, but whether she became a queen (*basilissa*) is less certain: Antiochus III is, as we saw, the one hellenistic king who can reasonably be argued to have engineered a distinction between 'wife' and 'queen' in the course of the stages of Laodice's ennoblement. And the bourgeois aspect of the union with Euboea might be argued to indicate that she was not taken all the way up into a full 'queenship'. For Bouché-Leclercq therefore the marriage was 'morganatic'.¹²⁶ Euboea may have produced a daughter for Antiochus. Livy speaks of Antiochus travelling towards Apamea with his 'wife and daughter',¹²⁷ and the two were with Antiochus in Babylon in 187.¹²⁸ But Euboea does not appear to have become involved in amphimetric strife, so perhaps she never produced a son.

Two further sons can be ascribed to Antiochus III and perhaps to Laodice. Livy refers to a pair of evidently adult 'sons' of Antiochus, Ardys and Mithridates, in the year 197.¹²⁹ Livy's text had long been quibbled with, and Antiochus had long been deprived of these sons by

scholars, but in a recently discovered inscription, also of 197, Antiochus plainly refers to a son of his called Mithridates.¹³⁰ With Mithridates' rehabilitation must come that of Ardys too. Although the names are otherwise unknown in the Seleucid dynasty, the name of Mithridates can at any rate be justified in this generation because Mithridates was the name of Antiochus' wife Laodice's father. This connection also makes it highly probable that it was Laodice who was Mithridates' mother. Ardys too has an oriental name, which may also then derive from Laodice's family, and make him too a son of hers.¹³¹ However, a passage of Polybius may still interfere with this neat analysis: he makes reference to a Mithridates in around 212, whom he describes as 'the biological (*kata physin*) son of his [Antiochus III's] sister'.¹³² The sister in question is doubtless the Antiochis who, as Polybius tells a few sentences later, was subsequently given as wife to Xerxes of Armenia. Was this the same Mithridates? If so, two interpretations of Polybius' description are available, which relate the boy to Antiochus himself in different ways. The first understands the term 'biological' to be in implicit contrast to 'social': Polybius would thus be referring to the fact that Mithridates had been *adopted* by the king even though he was in fact the son of his sister and some other man.¹³³ The second understands the term 'biological' to be Polybius' way of drawing our attention to an incestuous union: Mithridates was the *blood* son of Antiochus by his own sister.¹³⁴ The second interpretation would gratifyingly bring Antiochus III firmly into the sister-marrying culture that he imposed on his own children, but it is admittedly the more difficult one, and we would perhaps have expected Mithridates to have had a higher profile if he had been produced in such a prestigious fashion. It is better to conclude that this Mithridates at any rate was merely the adopted son of Antiochus, whether or not he is to be identified with the Mithridates of Livy and the inscription. Grainger differentiates these two Mithridateses and actually identifies the companion of Ardys with the future Antiochus IV.¹³⁵

No courtesans are attributed to Antiochus III by the sources.¹³⁶ This is a little surprising, because the king played a large role in the imagination of the ancient writers, and we have correspondingly rich information for his life in general. It is also surprising given that he is shown to be able to appreciate a pretty girl when he sees one: this emerges from the Euboea episode and also from the episode in which he is said to have fled from Ephesus because he was overcome by the beauty of the priestess of Artemis, and could not be sure of restraining himself from an unholy act.¹³⁷ However, there is a general dearth of

information about Seleucid courtesans (see chapter 8). I am not convinced that Antiochus III was considered to be fonder of alcohol than women: the Euboea episode again shows that he could synthesise the two well.¹³⁸

Finally, let us return briefly to one of the marriages that Antiochus III arranged for his daughters, that of Antiochis to Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia:

This Ariarathes [IV] married the daughter of the Antiochus [III] that was called 'The Great'. She was called Antiochis, and she was extremely meddlesome. Since she was failing to produce children, she acquired two supposititious sons without her husband's knowledge, Ariarathes and Holophernes. But after some time nature took its course and she bore two daughters, and one son, the one called Mithridates. As a result of this she informed her husband that the prior boys were supposititious and arranged for the elder to be packed off to Rome with an appropriately large pile of money, and for the younger to be packed off to Ionia so that they would not dispute the kingdom with the genuine son. When Mithridates had grown up, they say that he changed his name too to Ariarathes [V]. He experienced a Greek education and in general won praise for his virtues. Since the son was so keenly attentive to his father, his father was keen to repay him with some paternal support, and their love of each other brought them to the point at which the father insisted on resigning all his power in favour of the son, whilst the son graphically protested that he was unable to accept such a favour while his parents were still alive. But when the father met his appointed day he inherited the kingdom [in 163]...

Diodorus 31.19

On the assumption that Ariarathes and Holophernes were genuine sons of Ariarathes and Antiochis, the likeliest origin for the allegation that they were supposititious would have been Mithridates, on the *cui bono* principle. Such selfish breaking of ranks by a full brother would have been remarkable in the Macedonian courts (though there is of course the case of Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax). If, however, the tale is substantially true, it illustrates the extreme pressures upon the royal wives, the extent to which they felt their own status was linked to their production of children and the extremity of their preference for the children of their own body.¹³⁹

The families of Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Laodice

HUSBANDS OF LAODICE vi

Antiochus the Son
Nysa

Seleucus IV
Antiochus
Demetrius I
Laodice vii

Antiochus IV
Antiochus V
Other children?

This generation, that of the children of Antiochus III, strongly resembles the Ptolemaic generation of the children of Ptolemy V, in which two full-sibling brothers married in turn a—now highly authorising—full-sibling sister, with the result that the familiar amphimetric paradigm is turned on its head, and disputes arise not between the lines of the different wives of a single king, but between the lines of the different husbands of a single queen. The dispute between the two lines of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV was devastating and ultimately fatal for the dynasty,¹⁴⁰ for the kingdom was henceforth to be fought over until the bitter end by two competing families: once again the Seleucids experienced the pernicious effects of dyarchy. Even when the line of Antiochus IV (including the ‘pretenders’ that attached themselves to it, namely Alexander Balas, Diodotus/Tryphon and possibly Alexander Zabinas) was ultimately extirpated, an identical split emerged within the remaining line of Seleucus IV, which again bifurcated between the descendants of the full brothers Demetrius II and Antiochus VII, both of whose sets of sons were borne by the same woman, Cleopatra Thea. It should be stressed however, that despite the wars between the lines, the full brothers themselves who actually sired the lines were never in direct dispute with each other. In both these cases of bifurcation the rival royal line first came to power because of the detention of the elder brother by a foreign power: in the first case Demetrius I was detained by Rome; in the second case Demetrius II was detained by Parthia. It is then from the generation of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV that the third phase of Seleucid dynastic culture can be said to begin.

As we have seen, Seleucus IV (ruled 187–175) probably married his full sister Laodice after the death of his elder full brother and her former husband, Antiochus the Son. This marriage to Antiochus the Son had not produced any problematic lines, as far as we can tell: a single girl, Nysa, is known to have been born of it (Nysa was eventually given in marriage by Demetrius I to Pharnaces of Pontus).¹⁴¹ The passing on of Laodice to Seleucus was doubtless the design of his father Antiochus III. Laodice was Seleucus IV’s only known wife. We may presume therefore that Seleucus’ children were all born of her: an Antiochus (presumably the elder son in view of his name), Demetrius I (presumably the younger son, since he was hostage: cf. Philip V, who sent his younger son Demetrius to Rome as hostage, but retained the elder Perseus) and Laodice, who was given to Perseus in marriage.¹⁴²

At the time of Seleucus IV’s murder by Heliodorus,¹⁴³ Demetrius I was far from Syria, held in Rome as hostage to ensure his father’s

compliance. The dynasty's hopes inevitably depended upon the foremost adult prince, Seleucus IV's full brother Antiochus IV. With some help from Eumenes of Pergamum¹⁴⁴ (and perhaps therefore with the blessing of Rome) he took the throne and married this same Laodice, as it seems. A Babylonian king list has the following entry for 170:

[Year 1]42 month V (= 30 July–30 August, 170), at the command of An(tiochus IV) the king, An(tiochus) the (co-)regent, his son, was put to death.

Sachs and Wiseman 1954 p. 208 reverse line 12 (trans.)
= Austin 1981 no. 138¹⁴⁵

Diodorus and John of Antioch tell that Antiochus IV killed the infant son of Seleucus IV through the agency of an Andronicus.¹⁴⁶ These two pieces of information almost certainly relate to the same event. We can therefore assume that Seleucus IV's son was called Antiochus, and that he was officially adopted by Antiochus IV, before being killed in due course. Coin types appear to attest a strong actual or contrived physical resemblance between the son of Seleucus IV and his natural father.¹⁴⁷ The marriage to Laodice served to legitimate Antiochus IV's position in several ways: not only was she his full sister, but as the widow of the previous king she also conferred levirate-legitimation upon him. The act of adoption of the anticipated heir also served to legitimate Antiochus IV's position.

Seleucus IV's son was replaced in his associated role by Antiochus IV's own son, Antiochus V. The latter's birth in 173–2 may indeed have been the indirect cue for the murder of Seleucus IV's son.¹⁴⁸ Again the parallel with the children of Ptolemy V is strong: after the death of Ptolemy VI, his full sibling Ptolemy VIII married his full sibling wife, Cleopatra II, and put to death Ptolemy VI's son by her, Ptolemy VII, to replace him—for a while at any rate—with a son he himself was to sire upon her, Ptolemy Memphites (see chapter 4). It should also be borne in mind that the rule of solidarity between full brothers does not usually hold good as far as the orphaned sons of full brothers are concerned: such was the case with Philip II of Macedon and the usurpation of Amyntas the son of Perdiccas. We are reminded also of the murders by Archelaus and Ptolemy Alorus of their levirate-wives' children (see chapter 1). By Antiochus IV's act of usurpation, Seleucus IV's younger son Demetrius I was transformed into a rather different sort of liability for the Seleucid king.¹⁴⁹

The family of Antiochus IV Epiphanes

Laodice vi

Antiochus V Eupator
Other children?

Antiochis

Alexander Balas?
Laodice viii?

Although sister-marriage is usually associated with monogyny on the male side, it is possible that Antiochus IV (ruled 175–164) took on another union. The second book of *Maccabees* tells us that the cities of Tarsus and Mallus revolted because they had their revenues assigned to the provisioning of Antiochis, a ‘concubine’ (*ḡallakē*) of Antiochus IV.¹⁵⁰ The most puzzling aspect of this is the woman’s name, which may indicate that she was a member of the Seleucid house. If this was the case, then one would have expected her to be a wife rather than any kind of courtesan.

Whether Antiochus IV had any children other than Antiochus V and, if so, by whom, is unclear now and was unclear at the time. Polybius twice refers vaguely to his ‘children’ (*tekna*) in the context of the prospect of the line of Antiochus IV retaining the throne.¹⁵¹ We cannot take this word therefore as a strong indication that Antiochus IV in actuality ever had more than one child.

A subsequent occupant of the Syrian throne, Alexander Balas (ruled 150–145), was to claim to be a son of Antiochus IV. Hitherto we have been able to dismiss accusations of spuriousness aimed at Macedonian and hellenistic princes as the traces of internal family disputes. Balas is the first example of a series of individuals we are to meet who *may* indeed have been pretenders. Linked to the issue of Balas’ origin is also that of the Laodice who was produced as his sister before the Roman senate (see the Polybius passage quoted below), was eventually married to Mithridates III and was in due course murdered by the son she bore him, Mithridates Eupator.¹⁵²

The weight of the evidence is on the side of Balas having been at any rate a blood son of Antiochus IV. His claim to be a son of Antiochus IV is directly attested: in his last days he issued coins bearing Antiochus IV’s portrait.¹⁵³ For three of our literary sources Balas was unproblematically the son of Antiochus the IV: he is such for Strabo and the Jewish sources *Maccabees* and Josephus (the latter of whom repeatedly harps upon the ‘fact’ of his filiation in his report of Balas’ negotiations with Ptolemy VI for the hand of Cleopatra Thea).¹⁵⁴ But the Jewish sources are perhaps compromised by the fact that Balas was well disposed towards the Jews. Polybius does not comment directly on Balas’ filiation in his own voice, but he records Balas’ recognition by the Roman senate, at the behest of Attalus II and Heraclides, a former

ambassador of Antiochus IV,¹⁵⁵ in the following terms:

After passing some time in Rome Heraclides came before the senate, having with him Laodice and Alexander. First the young man delivered some measured arguments. He claimed that the Romans should bear in mind their friendship and alliance with his father, Antiochus [IV], and in particular that they should help him recover his kingship. If they could not do this, then they should assent to his return and not stand in the way of those who were willing to help him in his restoration to his paternal rule. Heraclides then took up the argument and reminded the senate at great length of Antiochus [IV]'s virtues, whilst making accusations against Demetrius [I]. He ended by declaring that they should assent to the return of the young man and Laodice in all justice, since they were the biological children (*kata physin*) of king Antiochus [IV]. None of this pleased the reasonable senators; they were aware of the contrivance of this play-acting and openly abominated Heraclides. But most of them were enslaved by the wizardry of Heraclides and were induced to draft a senatorial decree in the following terms:

‘Alexander and Laodice, children of a king who was our friend and ally, approached the senate and delivered arguments. The senate granted them the right to return to their paternal rule, and decreed to help them as they required.’
Polybius 33.18

The drift of this narrative, in particular the reference to the contrivance of the play-acting, seems to suggest that Polybius did not regard Balas' claims to be good. Heraclides' assertion that Balas and Laodice were the biological children of Antiochus IV may imply that they were admitted to be 'illegitimate'.

The evidence of Appian is also difficult. While he once asserts that Balas 'lied that he was a member of the Seleucid family',¹⁵⁶ he three times refers to him as a bastard (*nothos*).¹⁵⁷ Does this mean that Appian believed Balas to be a blood son of Antiochus IV, but (in general) denied the right of a 'bastard' to belong to the family of his father? Another possibility is that Appian is using the term *nothos* in a slightly vaguer fashion to denote something such as 'spurious'. It is noteworthy that in the third of his three *nothos* references he extends the term also to Balas's son, Antiochus VI: it is certainly not his intention to make an additional claim about the particular birth circumstances of Antiochus VI; rather it is his intention to indicate that the boy's claim to belong to the Seleucid line was based upon his filiation to Balas, and therefore equally bad. However, the suspicion arises from Appian's repeated application of the term to Balas that he may have acquired *Nothos* as an informal epithet (as did Ptolemy XII Auletes). Justin asserts, like Appian, that Balas' claim to be the son of Antiochus IV was false,¹⁵⁸ and he also asserts that his birth was very low.¹⁵⁹ For Livy he

was ignobly born and of 'obscure stock'.¹⁶⁰ Diodorus does not categorically deny that Balas was a son of Antiochus IV, but the drift of his narrative about his discovery in Smyrna by Eumenes implies that he was no biological relation.¹⁶¹ The most extreme denial of genuineness cast against Alexander is Athenaeus' assertion that he was supposititious (*hypoblētheis*);¹⁶² but such an allegation despite itself suggests that Alexander was reared as Antiochus' son.

Balas' extra-Seleucid connections can be read either way. Attalus II supported him once he had come to light, just as Eumenes had supported his supposed father, Antiochus IV. As we have seen, Attalus went so far as to have him recognised by the Roman senate.¹⁶³ Does this indicate that Attalus himself recognised Balas as a true son of the Attalids' former ally, or that he just saw in him an opportunity for his own advantage or for general anti-Seleucid mischief-making? Rome can be relied upon to have looked solely to her own interest. Balas impressed another king too: Ptolemy VI Philometor was to give Balas his daughter Cleopatra Thea in marriage in 150 (*Fig. 8*). One would not expect such a princess to have been given to one whom Ptolemy believed to be a mere commoner and a deceiver, but then perhaps Ptolemy too was more concerned to meddle effectively in the Seleucid empire than to preserve his daughter from insult. At any rate the wedding itself was carried out with all due pomp (we shall discuss this important match below).

Perhaps the best solution is that Balas and presumably Laodice too were, or at any rate ultimately claimed to be, 'bastard' children of Antiochus IV, as we might gather from the references of Polybius and Appian. If a suitable concubine mother is to be looked for, then the puzzling Antiochis may have been the one. Were Balas and Laodice



Fig. 8. Cleopatra Thea and Alexander Balas.
British Museum 1903-7-4-1 obv.
© British Museum.

'bastards' because not sister-born (despite Antiochis' highly Seleucid-seeming name)? Livy told that Balas' minister Ammonios killed, among others, Antiochus IV's widow Laodice:¹⁶⁴ if Balas was the son of another of Antiochus IV's women, this can be construed as a classic example of amphimetric murder.

But all this may be to approach the evidence too naively. For all we know, Balas may well have been as legitimate (whatever the term is to mean to us) a son of Antiochus IV as any other. What we can be sure of is that the competing Seleucid line, not an amphimetric one this time, but the collateral one deriving from Seleucus IV, of which the chief representative was Demetrius I, had the strongest possible interest in denying his association with the Seleucid family. If we are looking for a source of spurious allegations about the spuriousness of Balas, then here it is. The resentment between the lines needs little demonstration; the result of Balas' return was war between him and Demetrius I. This culminated in the death of Demetrius in battle in 150.¹⁶⁵ Ammonios duly went on to kill Demetrius' son Antigonus.¹⁶⁶

Bickerman and Will have noted that the middle of the second century was an epoch of apparent 'bastards' or 'impostors':¹⁶⁷ in Syria arose Balas; in Cappadocia arose Holophernes (see above); in Macedon arose Andriscus; in Pergamum arose Aristonicus. The coincidence is indeed curious, but I cannot think of any other explanation for the phenomenon than just that—coincidence.

Antiochus IV was succeeded by his son, presumably born of his sister-wife Laodice, Antiochus V Eupator (ruled 164–162). He was around 9 on his accession, and had been associated on the throne with his father since the age of 3, from around 170 (as we saw above). His rule may be considered a continuation of the usurpation of the line of Seleucus IV. When the last male representative of that line, Demetrius I, contrived to escape from Rome, he returned to Syria and predictably put the boy to death, to take the throne himself.¹⁶⁸ Surprisingly, he then managed to obtain the now crucial validation of Rome for his actions; Rome's purpose in giving its assent to this destabilising re-usurpation by the line of Seleucus IV may well have been to divide and rule.

The family of Demetrius I Soter

Laodice vii

Antigonus

Demetrius II Nicator Philadelphus

Antiochus VII Sidetes

Demetrius I (ruled 162–150) apparently sought to legitimate his rule and ensure the title of his children to the throne of Syria by following the custom of sister-marriage established by Antiochus III. We are told that he married a Laodice.¹⁶⁹ The one known available Laodice for him to marry was indeed his full sister. She had been married off to Perseus, but was now conveniently widowed. One of the sons Laodice was to bear Demetrius was given the name of Antigonus, which further suggests that his mother had an Antigonid background (for the killing of Laodice and Antigonus by Balas, see above). If it was indeed this Laodice that he married, then she also conveniently (if ineffectually) brought with her a claim to the most prestigious throne of all—that of Macedon—by levirate. It is not known when the marriage took place, but it must have been at some point after his return to Syria and accession in 162.

The family of Cleopatra Thea

Alexander Balas

Antiochus VI Dionysus

Demetrius II

Seleucus V

Antiochus VIII Grypus

Laodice ix

Antiochus VII Sidetes

Antiochus

Antiochus IX Cyzicenus

Seleucus?

Laodice x

Laodice xi

The final stages of the fractured Seleucid dynasty were dominated, albeit at a distance, by the Ptolemies, who managed to turn back upon the Seleucids the marital symbolism developed by Antiochus III. It was now they who were in a position to offer or impose their patronage upon their chosen Seleucid princelet by giving him a Ptolemaic princess in marriage, and to transfer that princess and patronage to the next princelet at will. As a result, in the later stages of the Seleucid dynasty—as in the Ptolemaic one—the queens constituted more stable elements than did the kings. Hence the organisation of the table at the head of this section. The Ptolemaic princesses came to take the place in the Seleucid houses that sister-wives—in particular Laodice, daughter of Antiochus III—had recently occupied: that of being transferable tokens of legitimacy. In due course these princesses developed a high degree of independence. In such circumstances, it goes without saying, the princelets could not afford to take on additional wives to be the rivals of these all-important princesses.

It was Balas (ruled 150–145) who first let the Ptolemies back into the Seleucid system. In 150 he accepted from Ptolemy VI Philometor his daughter Cleopatra Thea, who was around 14 or 15 at the time. The

wedding was celebrated with appropriate royal pomp, with Ptolemy himself escorting his daughter to Ptolemais to hand her over. The preparations and handing-over ceremony are described in elaborate, albeit improbably Judaified detail, in the first book of the *Maccabees*.¹⁷⁰ Their brief joint reign produced some of the finest Seleucid portrait coins: significantly it is Thea's head that is to the fore (*Fig. 8*).¹⁷¹ By Cleopatra Thea he had one known son, Antiochus VI Dionysus, who was briefly (145–142) to be the child puppet-king of Balas' former general Diodotus.¹⁷² According to some sources Diodotus killed him before going on to rule in his own right as Tryphon (142–138) in a categorical and definitely non-Seleucid usurpation.¹⁷³ Porphyry, however, attributes the death of Antiochus VI rather to the competing collateral line of Seleucus IV, specifically to Demetrius II.¹⁷⁴ The death of Diodotus marked the end of the continuous tradition of rule that drew its authority from Antiochus IV, although the pretender Zabinas perhaps did attempt to revive it.

In 146, as Balas' power collapsed in the Seleucid conflicts, Ptolemy VI transferred Cleopatra Thea to his new favourite, Demetrius II, the son of Demetrius I, whilst having himself proclaimed king of Syria: as clear a message as there could be that to accept a bride from him was to accept his precedence¹⁷⁵ (at the time Demetrius II was around 14, Cleopatra Thea 19). Balas was finally killed in 145 by Ptolemy's forces (he was beheaded by the Arab chieftain Zabeilus) after the battle of Oinoparos.¹⁷⁶

By Cleopatra Thea Demetrius II (ruled 146–139 and 129–126) sired three known children: Seleucus V, Laodice and Antiochus VIII Grypus.¹⁷⁷ Doubtless it was not his original intention to alienate the wife he depended upon so much by taking on others, but events overtook him. He was captured by Mithridates I of Parthia whilst campaigning against him, and was kept by Mithridates in honourable detention in Hyrcania for nine years.¹⁷⁸ During this prolonged and evidently comfortable detention Demetrius went native. The most eloquent index of this is his coin portraits. Those from the first period of his rule depict him as a typical clean-shaven hellenistic prince; those from the second period of his rule, after he returned from Parthia, show him sporting a bushy oriental beard.¹⁷⁹ For us the most salient aspects of Demetrius II's new life were the acquisition of a daughter of Mithridates, Rhodogoune, as wife and his production of children from her.¹⁸⁰ It is not clear whether Mithridates was deliberately and consciously exploiting the now established royal hellenistic custom that to receive a wife was to acknowledge precedence, but it seems fairly clear

that Demetrius II did indeed see him as a patron. Demetrius had now constructed for himself a classic amphimetric situation, and a situation further complicated by the fact that through each of these two wives he owed allegiance to a different external power. John of Antioch tells that Demetrius also had a son Seleucus by a woman named Apama, of whose status we know nothing. She reportedly killed her son at Damascus in 126,¹⁸¹ but we know nothing of the circumstances.

Cleopatra Thea

Seleucus V

Antiochus VIII Grypus

Laodice ix

Rhodogoune

Children

Apama

Seleucus

Cleopatra Thea could not afford to wait on the return of Demetrius II, if it was ever to happen. She could now act as a free agent for a number of reasons. She was regent in her husband's absence. Her father was now dead (Ptolemy VI had died shortly after passing her on to Demetrius II). She had every reason to despise his successor, Ptolemy VIII Physcon, who was among other things the murderer of her full brother Ptolemy VII. And she had evidently built up considerable authority of her own in Syria. She looked for a new husband and chose the younger full brother of Demetrius II, Antiochus VII Sidetes, prompted, according to Appian at any rate, by resentment over the Rhodogoune affair:

His wife Cleopatra killed Demetrius [II] too, when he returned for the kingship [in 129]. She killed him by deceit [in 126] because she was envious of his marriage to Rhodogoune, on account of which she had already married Antiochus [VII], Demetrius [II]'s brother.

Appian Syrian Wars 68¹⁸²

The marriage had taken place in 138, when Cleopatra Thea was around 27. She evidently gave herself in marriage to Antiochus ('auto-ecdoxis').¹⁸³ It is a testimony to the authority Cleopatra had acquired, and to the extent to which it had already become accepted that she was herself the token of legitimate kingship in Syria, that she was able to bestow upon Antiochus VII the kingship together with her hand. A conservative might have expected her rather to lose the queenship by making a new marriage. Impressive as this achievement was, it may be significant that she did not yet, as she was later to do, go without a husband and rule in her own name or at any rate that of a son. Perhaps she was regarded as conferring power on Antiochus VII almost by levirate: in the circumstances she was, after all, a virtual widow. As a result of Antiochus VII's enthronement the already

bifurcated Seleucid house (split between the collateral lines of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV) experienced a further schism within the line of Seleucus IV, which now had two equally well qualified claimants to its throne. Bickerman appropriately asks, 'Who was to be the legitimate successor: the son of Demetrius II, or one of those of Antiochus VII?'¹⁸⁴

Porphry tells that Cleopatra Thea bore five children to Antiochus VII. The first three, an Antiochus and two Laodices, died young of disease. The fourth, Seleucus V, was captured by the Parthians in the battle as a result of which his father died. The youngest, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, was reared in the relative safety of Cyzicus by the eunuch Craterus.¹⁸⁵ However, it is almost certain that Porphry has here mistakenly identified Cleopatra's son by Demetrius II, Seleucus V, as a son of Antiochus VII. Vague support for the notion that Porphry has made such a mistake is to be found in Appian, who implies that Antiochus VII had only one son: this is meaningful if we assume that Appian is counting only those who survived to adulthood and prominence.¹⁸⁶ On the same fateful campaign Antiochus VII certainly took the daughter of Demetrius II, Laodice.¹⁸⁷

It is interesting, in view of the fact that Antiochus VII had sons of his own by Cleopatra Thea, that he did not attempt to make away with the sons of Demetrius II, but instead genuinely attempted to recover Demetrius II from Parthia. Perhaps the fact that Demetrius was still alive was the key here, for the general principle that full brothers behave loyally towards each other had still only been violated in the Seleucid dynasty by the Hierax affair. Despite the disastrous wrangling that had ensued from the lines of the full brothers Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, these brothers had themselves been at peace with each other while both lived; only after the death of Seleucus IV had Antiochus IV attacked his children. Antiochus VII seems to have felt that solidarity had to be retained within the line of Seleucus IV at all costs, in the face of competition from the line of Antiochus IV. As we have seen, it seems that when, in 130, Antiochus VII campaigned against Parthia, he took Demetrius II's heir Seleucus V and his daughter Laodice with him.¹⁸⁸ The presence of Seleucus V on the campaign may have been intended to advertise solidarity within the family.¹⁸⁹

This campaign brought about a dramatic shift in the situation of Cleopatra Thea and her family: Antiochus VII was killed, Seleucus V and Laodice were captured by Phraates the new Parthian king (who polygamously married Laodice for her beauty), whilst Demetrius II was released.¹⁹⁰ Rapprochement between Demetrius II and Cleopatra Thea was not going to be possible. She could not tolerate Rhodogoune,

while he was not to be trusted with the children of Antiochus VII. Porphyry actually says that she sent her remaining son by Antiochus VII, Antiochus IX, away to Cyzicus because she feared what Demetrius II would do to him—hence his surname ‘the Cyzicene’.¹⁹¹ Perhaps they could have reached a compromise over the second common son they had, Antiochus VIII Grypus (since the elder, Seleucus V, was now detained in Parthia), but he was probably away studying in Athens.¹⁹² Demetrius II appears from the distinctive, oriental-bearded coins of his second period to have been confined during the period of his return to a small sub-kingdom based upon Antioch,¹⁹³ whilst Ptolemais was the basis of his wife’s rule. But, as Justin explains, he was possessed of an arrogance which familiarity with Parthian cruelty had rendered unbearable.¹⁹⁴ The Antiochenes threw him out, whereupon he was hounded to death by Cleopatra Thea and Alexander Zabinas in 126–5.¹⁹⁵

There followed soon upon this another example of mother killing son, an act which violates the most fundamental rule of the dynastic principles that we have enunciated, that of the absolute devotion between mother and son. We have noted the obscure case of Demetrius II’s Apama. And Laodice the widow of Antiochus II had made war against one of her sons, Seleucus II, siding with her other son, Antiochus Hierax. But the circumstances now were exceptional: Phraates had sent back Seleucus V to be his new puppet king (125), and doubtless he had become as Parthianised as his father before him. Thea killed him, as Appian and Justin say, for assuming the diadem without her order; Appian tells that she shot him with an arrow.¹⁹⁶ This eloquently reveals the degree of power Thea had accumulated for herself by this stage. She may also have feared that Seleucus V might avenge his father’s death. Thea now became the only hellenistic queen actually to rule and mint coins in her own name (125).¹⁹⁷ However, she was compelled within a year¹⁹⁸ to associate in rule her younger son by Demetrius II, Antiochus VIII Grypus, and accordingly add him to her coins. Within three years he had killed her (see below).

There did eventually emerge, after Cleopatra Thea’s death, a dispute between the different lines of her children: it was between Antiochus VIII Grypus, the son of Demetrius II, and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, the son of Antiochus VII Sidetes. The dispute supposedly began when Grypus attempted to poison Cyzicenus. Cyzicenus (ruled 116–95) rose up and asserted his own claim to the throne, and soon managed to take control of Antioch, where the people had fond memories of his father.¹⁹⁹ In establishing himself as a separate king

Cyzicenus, although as much a scion of the Seleucus IV line as Grypus, took on a role recently played by the descendants of Antiochus IV and by Zabinas; there was ever, it seems, room for two kings in the Seleucid realm.

As Breccia notes, Cleopatra Thea gave the late Seleucid dynasty a continuity and coherence that its pitiful squabbling princelets could not.²⁰⁰ Her career constituted a precedent which was to be followed by other Egyptian princesses, Cleopatra Tryphaena, Cleopatra IV and Cleopatra Selene, the latter of whom was also to marry three Seleucid princelets in turn.²⁰¹

Alexander Zabinas

Alexander Zabinas (ruled 128–123) needs little comment. Justin and Porphyry present him as a creature of Ptolemy VIII who was set up to spoil the game for Demetrius II, who had supported Cleopatra II against him. For Justin he was Egyptian, the son of a trader (*negotiator*) called Protarchus, and claimed to have been adopted as a son by Antiochus VII.²⁰² For what it is worth, his surname Zabinas is said by Porphyry to have been given him by the Syrians to denote the fact that he was a ‘bought slave’.²⁰³ Porphyry also tells that he claimed to be a son rather of Alexander Balas. If Porphyry is right, then Zabinas may have been taking up the cudgel of the Antiochus IV line (whether or not he genuinely belonged to it) against that of Seleucus IV. Josephus, however, says nothing to indicate that he was not a proper Seleucid.²⁰⁴ We simply do not have enough information or context at this remove to speculate usefully upon whether he was a genuine Seleucid of any kind, and if so to what branch he belonged. But it is interesting that he is described as having attempted to derive his authority from both of the lines that set themselves up against the principal line of the Seleucids, that which drew its descent from Seleucus IV and Demetrius II, i.e. both the line of Antiochus IV and that of Antiochus VII (see Seleucid king list in appendix 3). Just as Ptolemy VI had earlier transferred his support (and daughter) from Balas to Demetrius II, so Ptolemy VIII fell out with Zabinas and transferred his support to Grypus, who was thus enabled to annihilate him. Zabinas is not known to have had any wives or children.²⁰⁵

The family of Antiochus VIII Grypus

Cleopatra Tryphaena

Seleucus VI
Antiochus XI
Philip I
Demetrius III
Antiochus XII
Laodice xii Thea

Cleopatra Selene

Antiochus VIII Grypus enjoyed quite a long reign by the standards of this end of the dynasty (ruled in his own right 121–96). Having first come to power under the tutelage of his mother Cleopatra Thea, he was soon given the opportunity to establish his independence when he acquired a token of Ptolemaic legitimation of his own, Ptolemy VIII's daughter Cleopatra Tryphaena, *c.* 125, and at the same time the means to enforce that legitimation, an army.²⁰⁶ No doubt there was resentment between Thea and Tryphaena not only because the arrival of the latter limited the significance of the former, but also because they belonged to the competing sides of Cleopatra II's family: Thea was the daughter of Ptolemy VI, whereas Tryphaena was the daughter of Ptolemy VIII. It is not surprising therefore that Grypus decided, or was persuaded, to rid himself of his influential mother in 121. Justin tells that her demise came when she was caught trying to administer poison to Grypus, and was forced to drink it herself.²⁰⁷ That Thea initiated this fiasco by attempting to murder Grypus may be true: she had already murdered one son, and she could have planned to unburden herself of the restless Grypus and rule instead through her remaining son, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus. However, it may be significant that it was Grypus himself, rather than his mother, who became famous for his expertise in poisons.²⁰⁸

Before she was murdered by Antiochus IX Cyzicenus in 111 (for which see below), Tryphaena produced for Grypus five sons, Seleucus VI, Antiochus XI, Philip I, Demetrius III and Antiochus XII, and a daughter, Laodice Thea (who was to marry Mithridates I Callinicus of Commagene).²⁰⁹

It seems Grypus had to wait until 102 before receiving a replacement legitimating wife from Egypt. In this year Cleopatra III gave him her daughter Cleopatra Selene, whom she had just removed from her son Ptolemy IX, much against his will.²¹⁰ But Selene produced no sons for Grypus before his death in 96. There was no line of children from Selene to dispute with those of Tryphaena, but there may well have been amphymeric tension between the children of Tryphaena and

their stepmother Selene. On the death of Grypus in 96 Selene abandoned his household, which merely consisted of the six children of Tryphaena, to whom she presumably felt no loyalty whatsoever, and gave herself to Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, who was no less than the inherited enemy of her stepchildren—in another act of ‘auto-ecdosis’.²¹¹

Before considering the death-throes of the Seleucids, it will be useful to bear in mind this summary passage of Josephus:

At about the same time the Antiochus [VIII] surnamed Grypus died [in 96], having been plotted against by Heracleon. He lived for 45 years, and was king for 29. Having taken over the kingship his son Seleucus [VI] made war against Antiochus [IX] the brother of his father, the one who had the surname of Cyzicenus. He conquered him, caught him and killed him [in 95]. But shortly afterwards Antiochus [X] the son of Cyzicenus, the one called Eusebes, arrived at Arados. He put on the diadem and made war against Seleucus [VI]. He beat him and expelled him from the whole of Syria. He fled to Cilicia, and, arriving at Mopsuestia, he again attempted to exact money from the citizens there. But the people of Mopsuestia became angry and set fire to his palace, killing him along with his friends. Whilst Antiochus [X] the son of Cyzicenus was ruling Syria, Antiochus [XI Epiphanes Philadelphus] the brother of Seleucus [VI] carried out war against him, and on being conquered perished with his army. And after him his brother Philip put on the diadem and ruled a part of Syria. Ptolemy [IX] Lathyrus summoned the fourth of these brothers, the one called Demetrius [III] ‘Akairos’ [i.e. Eukairos in reality], from Cnidus, and set him up as king in Damascus [all still in 95]. Antiochus [X] strenuously resisted these two brothers but was soon killed [in 92]. For he went as an ally to Laodice, the queen of the Samenians, who was at war with the Parthians, and he fell fighting bravely. The two brothers, Demetrius [III] and Philip [I], possessed Syria, as has been described elsewhere.

Josephus 13.13.4²¹²

The family of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus

Cleopatra IV

Antiochus X Eusebes

Brittane

Cleopatra Selene

The cause of Cyzicenus (ruled 116–95) received a fillip in 113 when Cleopatra IV, divorced by her mother Cleopatra III from her brother Ptolemy IX, fled to Syria and offered herself as wife to him: yet another act of ‘auto-ecdosis’.²¹³ She was welcomed and, in the light of subsequent events, perhaps even loved by Cyzicenus. Because of the circumstances in which she had left Egypt, she did not of course bring with her the patronage of the Ptolemies. Perhaps Cyzicenus’ acceptance of her therefore represents the true coming-of-age of the

Ptolemaic princess as a legitimization symbol among the Seleucids; they had begun to carry in their own right a useful significance that did not necessarily depend upon the Egyptian resources they commanded. However, Cleopatra IV did bring Cyzicenus her small private army as a dowry. She may also have been valued by a kind of levirate thinking: she had after all recently occupied the bed of the king of Egypt. But her reign at Cyzicenus' court was short. In the next year (112) she was captured by Grypus and her full sister Tryphaena (they were both born of Ptolemy VIII Physcon and Cleopatra III), and met one of the most gruesome and notorious deaths of the hellenistic world:

Before [Cleopatra III] would give the kingdom to [Ptolemy IX], she deprived him of his wife and compelled him to repudiate Cleopatra [IV], who was so very dear to him, and ordered him to marry his younger sister Selene. This was not a very maternal way of managing things between her daughters, since she was snatching a husband away from the one and giving him to the other. But Cleopatra [IV], not so much repudiated by her husband as dispatched in a divorce from him engineered by her mother, married Cyzicenus in Syria. And so that she should not bring him the mere name of 'wife', she won over the army in Cyprus and presented it to her new husband as a dowry. Now that his forces were equal to those of his brother [Grypus], Cyzicenus joined battle with him. He was conquered and turned to flight. Then Grypus began to lay siege to Antioch, where Cyzicenus' wife Cleopatra was. When the city had been taken, Tryphaena, the wife of Grypus, gave the order that nothing should take precedence over the locating of Cleopatra, not so that she could help the captive, but so that Cleopatra could not escape the evils of captivity. For Tryphaena believed that she had invaded this kingdom in particular because of her envy towards herself, and that Cleopatra had made herself the enemy of her sister by marrying her enemy. Tryphaena then accused Cleopatra of bringing overseas armies into the battles between the brothers, and accused her of marrying outside Egypt against the will of their mother after having been repudiated by their brother. Against this Grypus begged that he not be compelled to commit such a foul crime. Cruelty, he said, had never been displayed to a woman in the aftermath of victory by any of his ancestors, even in the course of so many civil wars and wars against foreign powers, since their sex itself exempted them from the perils of war and the cruelty of the victors. He argued, furthermore, that in the case of this particular woman, above and beyond the universal rules of war, there was also the matter of the close blood relationship. For the woman against whom Tryphaena was directing her cruel rage was no less than her full sister, furthermore his own cousin born from a sister-pair, and finally the maternal aunt of their common children. On top of these close bonds of blood he pressed also the awe that should be felt for the temple in which she had hidden herself in her flight. He said that he himself ought to worship the gods all the more

reverently, since his victory had been due to their kindly disposition towards him and their support of him. He argued that he would deprive Cyzicenus of none of his strength by the killing of Cleopatra, and that he would not succour him in any way by returning her to him. But the more Grypus forbade her to proceed, the more Cleopatra's sister was spurred on by female stubbornness. For she thought that these words were not ones of pity, but of love. And so she called the soldiers herself and sent them to strike down her sister. When they had entered the temple, they were unable to pull her off the statue of the goddess around which she had wrapped her arms, so they chopped them off. Before dying Cleopatra cursed her killers and entrusted the avenging of herself to the gods who had been thus desecrated. Not long after this, battle was again joined between Grypus and Cyzicenus, and the latter was victorious. He captured Tryphaena the wife of Grypus, who had killed her sister a short while before, and placated the ghost of his wife by her execution.

Justin 39.3.2–12²¹⁴

If Tryphaena did suspect that Grypus was in love with Cleopatra IV, then her killing of her can be seen as an act of amphimetric (within the context of Grypus' family) jealousy. But these events also demonstrate that feelings between the all-too-full sibling Cleopatras at this stage were exactly comparable to those between the all-too-full sibling Ptolemies. The feelings of Ptolemy IX, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus and possibly those of Grypus towards Cleopatra IV indicate that she had a sweeter disposition than the average Cleopatra. In the brief period of her marriage to Cyzicenus Cleopatra IV had the chance to produce for him only one son, Antiochus X Eusebes.²¹⁵

Cyzicenus appears to have been without a Macedonian-descended wife for the next 17 years, until Cleopatra Selene gave herself to him in 95 in an 'auto-ecdosis'. It is unthinkable that he should have been without any wife at all during this time, and so we may as well give some credit to John Malalas' assertion that he married 'Brittane, daughter of Arsaces the Parthian', and assume that this marriage occupied at least some of the gap.²¹⁶ Cyzicenus will have welcomed Cleopatra Selene in 95 as a legitimating Egyptian princess, and he will also have welcomed her as a means to acquire further title to the throne of Grypus, for which he had always fought, and which he could now claim by levirate. It seems that Cleopatra Selene did not have the opportunity to garner any children of her own from this marriage either; Cyzicenus was killed in the very same year, 95, by Grypus' heir, Seleucus VI, the eldest son of Tryphaena, who had appropriately taken up his father's cause.²¹⁷ Seleucus VI's own reign was short (ruled 96–5). He was immediately expelled from Syria by Cyzicenus' heir, Antiochus X Eusebes, and apparently died wifeless and childless.²¹⁸

The family of Antiochus X Eusebes

Cleopatra Selene

Antiochus XIII Asiaticus

Seleucus (?) Cybiosactes (?)

Antiochus X (ruled 95–92?) legitimated his position by marrying his father's widow, who was valuable as an Egyptian princess and as a means of levirate legitimation. It was also useful to neutralise a potential amphimetric threat thus. In the taking on of a stepmother by a stepson we are reminded of the transfer of Stratonice from Seleucus I to Antiochus I. Appian jokes that Antiochus was given the surname 'Pious' (Eusebes) because he honoured his father and uncle by marrying the woman that they had chosen.²¹⁹ At the time of the marriage she was at least 40, while he was presumably around 17 or 18, if he was indeed the son of Cleopatra IV. She was Antiochus X's only known wife; by her he had Antiochus XIII, and perhaps a Seleucus—possibly the notorious Cybiosactes.²²⁰ Antiochus X was killed in war against Philip I and Demetrius III, the sons of Grypus, probably in 92.²²¹ Selene took his children off to a place of safety, where they remained unheard of until twenty years later, when she advanced their lot as claimants to the vacant throne of Egypt (see chapter 4). Selene's marital career can be schematised in a fashion similar to that of Cleopatra Thea's, although she was much less productive of children:

Ptolemy IX Lathyrus

Two short-lived sons?

Antiochus VIII Grypus

Antiochus IX Cyzicenus

Antiochus X Eusebes

Antiochus XIII Asiaticus

Seleucus (?) Cybiosactes (?)

The details of the last years of the disintegrating dynasty become very uncertain, and details of dynastic relationships are affected along with everything else; the marriage of Selene to Antiochus X is the last dynastic match we can speak of with any confidence or presume to fit into any pattern.

The last Seleucids

After Antiochus X had killed Seleucus VI, the eldest of the five sons of Antiochus VIII Grypus and Cleopatra Tryphaena,²²² the cause against him on behalf of this family was taken up by the next three eldest sons, Antiochus XI (ruled 95), Philip I (ruled 95–83) and Demetrius III (ruled 95–88). According to Porphyry Antiochus XI and Philip I were

twins.²²³ The three brothers initially acted in unison, but after the death of Antiochus XI within a year the other two sons fell at variance. It was a testimony to the fraught and disintegrating state of the family that direct strife between full brothers now made another appearance. As with the Hierax affair, the interference of a Ptolemaic sponsor was involved. Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, now confined to Cyprus, had given his special support to Demetrius, who had been able to establish himself in a sub-kingdom based upon Damascus. But then Demetrius was captured by the Parthians and died as their captive *c.* 88.²²⁴ In 83 Tigranes of Armenia dethroned the remaining Philip I and killed him in Cilicia. His place was taken by the fifth and final son of Grypus and Tryphaena, Antiochus XII, who died in an expedition against the Nabataeans in 84.²²⁵ We know absolutely nothing of the marriages of any of these princes. The only one to whom a son can plausibly be ascribed is Philip I: seventeen years after his death a Philip II was recovered from Cilicia to be the very last Seleucid king. The place of his discovery and onomastics suggest that he was, or purported to be, the son of Philip I.

The death of Antiochus XII represented the end of continuous Seleucid rule. In 69 Cleopatra Selene prevailed upon Rome to restore the elder of her two sons by Antiochus X, Antiochus XIII (ruled 69–64), at Antioch. The Roman interest in restoring Antiochus XIII was to use him as a buffer against Tigranes of Armenia. He lost the confidence of the Antiochenes by 64, for being a Roman puppet, and so they brought Philip II in from Cilicia (ruled 69–64). In 64 Pompey turned Syria into a Roman province. Antiochus XIII was put to death by the Arab potentate Sampsiceramus in the same year. Philip II later emerged as one of the claimants for the hand of Berenice IV of Egypt, and it is possible that another of the claimants for her hand, the disgusting Seleucus Cybiosactes, was the younger son of Selene.²²⁶

Notes

¹ The Seleucid dynasty was the most populous and complex of all the hellenistic dynasties. A needless irritant in the study of it is the lack of a system of numeration for its cohorts of Laodices. I am dismayed to find that Grainger has chosen in his recent prosopography of the dynasty (Grainger 1997, 5–71) neither to be exhaustive nor to number the Laodices in an order that is chronological or generational (leaving aside the collapse of his cross-referencing system). I have accordingly developed my own system of numbering for them here, if only to help the reader keep track of the arguments in this chapter. Included in my system are all the Laodices currently known to have

been the wives or daughters of Seleucid kings. Laodice, the mother of Seleucus I (Grainger's Laodice no. 14), and Laodice, his sister (Grainger's Laodice no. 3), presumably the ultimate namesakes for all the others, do not therefore participate in this series themselves. Nor have I included Laodice, daughter of Ziaelas of Bithynia and wife of Antiochus Hierax (Eusebius *Chronicles* i 251–2 Schöne), on the ground that Antiochus Hierax is not (now) usually regarded as a king. This is not a list of *rulers*, so it seems inappropriate to use Roman numerals in capitals; instead I use Roman numerals in lower case. It is only proper to make it clear here that some scholars would differentiate my Laodice vi, daughter of Antiochus III and wife in turn of Antiochus the Son, Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, into two women.

² See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 217–18 for a general statement of the instability of the dynasty.

³ The increasing effect on the Seleucids of Ptolemaic practices is noted by Bickerman 1938, 25 and Vatin 1970, 90.

⁴ Cf. also Appian *Syrian Wars* 56 for the Seleucid ring and anchor; he also tells a tale in which Seleucus significantly trips over an anchor.

⁵ Libanius *Oration* 11.91 (Förster i.2 p. 466). For Seleucid 'mythology' see Hadley 1969, Mehl 1986, 1–6, Grainger 1990, 2–3 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 26–8.

⁶ Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.5–6, making her daughter of Spitamenes. Strabo C578 makes her daughter of Artabazus; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 33, 515 and 542, Tarn 1929, Macurdy 1932, 77, Seibert 1967, 47, Mehl 1986, 17–19 and Grainger 1990, 11–12.

⁷ Shahbazi 1987 and Brosius 1996, 78–9 n. 72.

⁸ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 15 and Grainger 1989, 75–7.

⁹ John Malalas p. 198 Dindorf. He is followed by Bengtson 1987, 102 and Grainger 1990, 152 and 165.

¹⁰ Rehm 1941–58, ii no. 480; cf. no. 113. See Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 26 and Brosius 1996, 18 and 78–9 n. 72.

¹¹ As Beloch 1912–27, iv.2, 304, Holleaux 1923, 1, Macurdy 1932, 78, Bickerman 1938, 28 (but cf. 24 n. 8; Bickerman's principle of Seleucid serial monogamy becomes truer later on), Vatin 1970, 86 n. 2.

¹² Thus Tarn 1929, 139 supposes that Apama was retained after the marriage to Stratonice. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 126 are uncertain whether the Seleucids were polygamous.

¹³ Perrin's Loeb translation is again quoted here for its felicitous phraseology: the metaphor of a ship riding a stormy sea at anchor is a little less explicit in the Greek itself (*epi toutōi monōi saleuontas*), but one cannot help wondering whether there does not lurk here a reference to the Seleucid hallmark.

¹⁴ John Malalas pp. 198 and 202–3 Dindorf; Laodice is also mentioned by Eustathius 915; see Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 198 (who is dubious about them) and Grainger 1990, 12.

¹⁵ Appian *Syrian Wars* 61. Cf. also the inscription dated by Dittenberger to some point between 306 and 293 which describes Antiochus as 'the eldest child of king Seleucus': Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 213 lines 3–4.

¹⁶ It is argued that Seleucus' treaty with Sandracottus may have involved

a marriage link of some sort, although the direction in which any bride may have travelled is unclear (or it may just have been an agreement of intermarriage for their populations, *epigamia*): see Appian *Syrian Wars* 55 and Strabo C724 (speaking only of *epigamia*); see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 30, Macurdy 1932, 77–8, Bickerman 1938, 24, Skurzak 1964, Seibert 1967, 47, Vatin 1970, 86, Mehl 1986, 174 and Grainger 1990, 109 and 152.

¹⁷ Justin 15.4.9.

¹⁸ Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 205 and Hansen 1971, 27 (the strongest aspect of this argument is that Achaeus had a daughter called Antiochis, who married Attalus I).

¹⁹ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Antiocheia*.

²⁰ Appian *Syrian Wars* 62; cf. Grainger 1990, 53 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 23–4.

²¹ Details of the marriage are discussed by Bevan 1902, i 62–3, Macurdy 1932, 78, Vatin 1970, 86, Cohen 1974, Will 1979–82, i 88, Mehl 1986, 223–30 and Grainger 1990, 132–2.

²² For the birth of Phila see also John Malalas p. 198 Dindorf and *Vita Arati* at Westermann 1964 p. 53.

²³ Cf. Herodotus 3.31, where Cambyses, who is mooting marriage to his own sister, is told that Persian law permits the king to do whatever he wants; cf. Bickerman 1966, 109.

²⁴ Versions of the tale of Antiochus, Stratonice and Erasistratus are found also at Appian *Syrian Wars* 59–62 and Lucian *De Syria Dea* 17–18 and 23 (the latter reference is brief but suggestive; the doctor goes unnamed) and *Icaromenippus* 15, Valerius Maximus 5.7 ext. 1, Pliny *Natural history* 7.123, Julian *Misopogon* 347–8, Suda s.v. *Erasistratos*. Cf. Mesk 1913, Fraser 1969, Amundsen 1974, Brodersen 1985, Mehl 1986, 230–68 (with further sources), Grainger 1990, 152–3 and 155, Winkler 1990, 83–4, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 24–5. Ingres was inspired to paint the scene. See Frontispiece.

²⁵ As found at Euripides *Hippolytus* etc.; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 25.

²⁶ Lucian *De Syria Dea* 19–27; cf. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991, 84.

²⁷ Cf. Tarn 1929, 138.

²⁸ For which see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 40, Tarn 1940, 94, Will 1979–82, i 267, 301–8 and elsewhere, Grainger 1990, 155–8 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 73.

²⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 38.

³⁰ Pace Seibert 1967, 50 and Grainger 1990, 153.

³¹ Brosius 1996, 30, 60, 62, 103 and 205.

³² Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 125–6.

³³ For whom see Justin 28.1.2 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.6 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 249 Schöne.

³⁴ Apama was married to Magas of Cyrene: Pausanias 1.7.3 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.6 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 249 Schöne; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv 199 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 35–6.

³⁵ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 76 and 83–5.

³⁶ Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Antiocheia*; Grainger 1997, 52 bizarrely

claims that there is *no* evidence for Nysa.

³⁷ Athenaeus 578a.

³⁸ Polyaeus 8.50; for Laodice see also John Malalas pp. 198 and 202–3 Dindorf. The suggestion has been made to me that in calling Laodice Antiochus II's *homopatrios adelphē*, literally, 'sister of the same father', Polyaeus meant not that she was his paternal half-sister, but that she was his *full* sister, and was so termed to distinguish her from Antiochus II's half-sister by a *different* father, namely Phila, daughter of Seleucus I and the same Stratonice. This is utterly implausible. First, *homopatrios* is the banal Greek term for 'paternal half-sibling', as Liddell, Scott and Jones 1968 s.v. demonstrate. All the prose usages of it they cite (Herodotus 5.25, Antiphon 1.1 [*Against a stepmother for poisoning!*], Lysias 19.22, Plato *Laws* 774e, Isaeus 11.2 and SEG ii no. 822 [first-century AD]) manifestly bear this significance, and Lysias and Isaeus are particularly emphatic here. In the one poetic usage cited, Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 559, the term *may* be used in a more vague way to express merely common descent, since it describes a bond between characters who happen to be full siblings (Hesione and the Oceanids, both daughters of Ocean and Tethys: see scholiast ad loc. and line 137), but it is certainly not used in implicit contrast to any maternal half-siblings. Secondly, Phila is utterly irrelevant to Polyaeus' context and goes completely unmentioned in it. Thirdly, Polyaeus manifestly uses the word in order to comment on the relatively incestuous nature of the union: if Laodice was Antiochus' full sister, he expressed himself in an extremely weak and misleading way. Fourthly, if Laodice were Antiochus II's full sister, then there would be no question but that Seleucid practice influenced Ptolemaic sister-marriage more immediately than did Pharaonic, but there is no suggestion of this in any of the sources.

³⁹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.6 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 251 Schöne; cf. Polybius 4.51.4 and 8.20.11; Porphyry is followed by Macurdy 1932, 80–3 and 90, Seibert 1967, 55 and 57, Walbank 1957–79, i p. 501, Schmitt 1964, 31 and Vatin 1970, 87, but disbelieved by Bevan 1902, i 133, Breccia 1903, 159–60 and Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 72–4, 102, 542–6, 562 and 642. His text does not inspire confidence at this point owing to the adjacent confusion of 'Antigonos' for 'Antiochus'.

⁴⁰ Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 219.

⁴¹ Trogus *Prologue* 26 and John of Antioch 55 (*FHG* iv p. 558); John Malalas p. 205 Dindorf is wrong to say that this Seleucus died as a small child. There are references to him also at Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 220 line 13, *SEG* xxxv.1170 and in the inscription published at Wörrle 1975. See Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 72, Macurdy 1932, 82, Parker and Dubberstein 1956, 21, Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991, 77 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 37.

⁴² Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 200–1 and Macurdy 1932, 82–3.

⁴³ I use the term 'Achaemenid' casually to define all the rulers of Persia from Cyrus I to Darius III, although it appears that it may be incorrectly applied to the kings preceding Darius I: see Brosius 1996, 58–9.

⁴⁴ Unfortunately McEwan 1934 does not address the issue of sister-marriage, despite the promise of his title. The possible influence of the culture

of Persian royal women on that of Macedonian royal women is discussed inconclusively by Carney 1993, 319–23.

⁴⁵ For the notion that Achaemenid sister-marriage was the model not only for the Seleucids but also for the Ptolemies, see Kornemann 1928.

⁴⁶ Ctesias *FGH* 688 F15 (44); cf. Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 2.4. See Brosius 1996, 33, 37–8, 65–6 and 205.

⁴⁷ Herodotus 3.31.

⁴⁸ Brosius 1996, 36, 45–6, 81 and 205; cf. also Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 26. Cambyses' murder of his pregnant sister: Herodotus 3.32.4.

⁴⁹ Plutarch *Alexander* 30.3 and Curtius 4.10.2; cf. Brosius 1996, 68 and 205.

⁵⁰ Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 23.5–6; cf. Heraclides *FGH* 689 F7.

⁵¹ Brosius 1996, 30, 66–7, 81 and 205.

⁵² Herodotus 7.224.2; cf. Brosius 1996, 61–2 and 205.

⁵³ Valerius Maximus 9.2 ext. 7; cf. Brosius 1996, 67 and 205.

⁵⁴ Antisthenes F29a Caizzi (at Athenaeus 220c).

⁵⁵ Polygamy of Cyrus II: Herodotus 2.1.1 and Ctesias *FGH* 688 F9 (2). Polygamy of Artaxerxes III: Valerius Maximus 9.2 ext. 7 and Curtius 3.13.13. Polygamy of Darius III: Arrian *Anabasis* 7.4.4, Diodorus 18.107.6 and Plutarch *Alexander* 70.3. Cf. Brosius 1996, 35–6, 40, 51–2, 61, 68–9, 81 and 193.

⁵⁶ Herodotus 3.84.2; cf. Brosius 1996, 47.

⁵⁷ Diodorus 17.66.6, Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 27.2 and Deinon *FGH* 690 F27.

⁵⁸ Heraclides of Cyme *FGH* 689 F1; cf. Brosius 1996, 1, 31–4 and 191.

⁵⁹ Herodotus 1.135–6; cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 26.

⁶⁰ Herodotus 3.2.1–2; cf. Brosius 1996, 21, 24, 32–3 and 65.

⁶¹ Herodotus 3.84.2 and Ctesias *FGH* 688 F15 (44); cf. Lewis 1977, 77–8 and Brosius 1996, 33 and 37.

⁶² Cf. Brosius 1996, 65.

⁶³ Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 30.1; cf. Brosius 1996, 66.

⁶⁴ Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 23.5 (cf. *gametē gynē* at 5.3); cf. Brosius 1996, 24.

⁶⁵ Brosius 1996, 49–50, 61 and 106–7.

⁶⁶ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 22, arguing from Herodotus 7.2–3.

⁶⁷ Wrongly stated by John Malalas p. 205 Dindorf to have been a son of 'Bernice'.

⁶⁸ For whom see Diodorus 31.19.6, Eusebius *Chronicles* i 251–2 Schöne and Justin 28.5.3.

⁶⁹ Sachs and Hunger 1989 no. 245 A obv. 13; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 126 and Grainger 1997, 13 and 38 for the female reading. For Antiochus II's children in general see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 76, Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 200–1 and Macurdy 1932, 83.

⁷⁰ However, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 126 apparently see the Berenice union as an unforced foreign-policy decision on Antiochus II's part.

⁷¹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 65.

⁷² Cf. Seibert 1967, 80 and n. 28.

⁷³ Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 89; so too Will 1979–82, i 239–41.

⁷⁴ At Borsippa: Welles 1934 nos. 18–20 = Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 225 = Wiegand 1941–58, ii no. 492a–c = Bagnall and Derow 1981 no. 25 = Austin 1981 no. 185. At Babylon: Lehmann 1892, 330 n. 2 (cuneiform); cf. Macurdy

1932, 84, Pomeroy 1984, 14 and 177 n. 44 and Green 1990, 149–50. For the Achaemenid background to the use of estates dedicated to the maintenance of royal women, see Brosius 1996, 123–46, 180–1, and 199.

⁷⁵ For the betrothal and handing-over of Berenice see, in addition to the Porphyry passage quoted, *Zenon papyri* (ed. Edgar) ii 59242 and 59252 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 65; cf. Bickerman 1938, 28–9 and Vatin 1970, 63.

⁷⁶ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 89–90, Macurdy 1932, 87, Bickerman 1938, 26, Vatin 1970, 63 and 90–1 and Will 1979–82, i 241–2.

⁷⁷ Athenaeus 45c; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 92 and Macurdy 1932, 84 and 87.

⁷⁸ Justin 27.1.1 also reports his death without reference to suspicious circumstances.

⁷⁹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 65 and Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F24 (from Athenaeus 593b–e, discussing also other bloodthirsty work of Laodice's); cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 92, Macurdy 1932, 84.

⁸⁰ Valerius Maximus 9.14 ext. 1; cf. Breccia 1903, 35, Pridik 1936, Bickerman 1938, 23–4 and Will 1979–82, i 250.

⁸¹ Justin 27.1.

⁸² Jähne 1974 and Green 1990, 150.

⁸³ See also Justin 27.1.

⁸⁴ *Gurob papyrus* = *FGH* 160 = Austin 1981 no. 220 columns iii–iv; cf. Will 1979–82, i 251–3.

⁸⁵ See Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 106–19, Will 1979–82, 294–301 and Green 1990, 150.

⁸⁶ Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 214; cf. Breccia 1903, 45–7, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 106 and Will 1979–82, i 294–6.

⁸⁷ Justin 27.2.7.

⁸⁸ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 251 Schöne; cf. Will 1979–82, i 296.

⁸⁹ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 107 and Macurdy 1932, 86.

⁹⁰ Justin 27.2.7; cf. Will 1979–82, i 296.

⁹¹ Polybius 4.51.4 and 8.20; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 103, 562 and Seibert 1967, 57. For Porphyry's and Eusebius' confusion of this Laodice with Laodice ii the daughter of Antiochus I and wife of Antiochus II, see above.

⁹² Strabo C624.

⁹³ Polybius 8.23; cf. Schmitt 1964, 28.

⁹⁴ Polyaeus 8.61.

⁹⁵ Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4) and 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F30); cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 108 and see Part II.

⁹⁶ Agatharchides *FGH* 86 F20.

⁹⁷ Polybius 5.40.5 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.9 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 253 Schöne; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 202 and Schmitt 1964, 27–8.

⁹⁸ Appian *Syrian Wars* 66.

⁹⁹ See Macurdy 1932, 91, Schmitt 1964, 10, Seibert 1967, 60–1 (who is surely wrong to argue that this was the first time a hellenistic king had taken a bride from a non-Macedonian house) and Vatin 1970, 87 (confusing this

Laodice with the wife of Antiochus II) and 89. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 203 thought it a difficulty that Polybius 8.20 also tells that Achaeus married a Laodice, daughter of Mithridates (for whom see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 567–8). But Mithridates could well have had two daughters called Laodice, just as Antiochus III had two sons called Antiochus (the Son and IV).

¹⁰⁰ Vatin 1970, 91.

¹⁰¹ Vatin 1970, 91–2; cf. Granier 1931, 167, Bickerman 1938, 26 and Schmitt 1964, 11.

¹⁰² See Schmitt 1964, 13–28 for details.

¹⁰³ Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 192, Clay 1920–3, ii 13, Macurdy 1932, 91, Holleaux 1938–57, ii 228–9, Schmitt 1964, 13 and Vatin 1970, 87.

¹⁰⁴ For the dates of the various marriages listed by Appian see Schmitt 1964, 24–6.

¹⁰⁵ Polybius 8.23; cf. John of Antioch *FHG* iv p. 557 F53; cf. Schmitt 1962, 28.

¹⁰⁶ Polybius 11.39; cf. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 199 and Grainger 1997, 71.

¹⁰⁷ In addition to the Appian passage quoted, see also Livy 33.42 and 33.49 for the sister-marriage.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Vatin 1970, 88.

¹⁰⁹ But they are pressed by Vatin 1970, 87.

¹¹⁰ See Bevan 1902, ii 15, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 177 n. 1, 184, 247 and 575, Seibert 1967, 62–8 and especially Vatin 1970, 87–8; and see more generally Günther 1995.

¹¹¹ See Brosius 1996, 43 and 193, and chapter 2.

¹¹² Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 771; cf. Schmitt 1964, 15 and 24.

¹¹³ The Laodice of Seleucus IV: SEG vii no. 17. The Laodice of Antiochus IV: Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 252.

¹¹⁴ See Cumont 1931, 284–5, Macurdy 1932, 92, Holleaux 1938–57, iii 204 n. 4, Robert 1949, 18 and 26–9, Aymard 1953/4, 52 n. 5 and Vatin 1970, 88–9 and 97; some scepticism from Schmitt 1964, 23–4, Mørholm 1966, 49–50 and Grainger 1997, 48 and 50. As Vatin demonstrates, there is plenty of time for all these marriages to have taken place within the fertile period of one woman, although we must assume that she made the last of these marriages at around the age of 35.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Bickerman 1938, 26 and Aymard 1949a, 336.

¹¹⁶ The Nihavend inscription: Robert 1949 = Austin 1981 no. 158. The Durdurkar inscription: Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 224 = Michel 1900 no. 50 = Welles 1934 nos. 36–7. The Kermanshah inscription: Robert 1967. See above all, on these texts, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 202–10. (NB. older discussions of the Durdurkar inscription sometimes related it to Antiochus II and his wife Laodice.)

¹¹⁷ SEG vii no. 2; cf. Welles 1934 pp. 159–60 and Schmitt 1964, 11–13. Before the discovery of this inscription some scholars believed that Laodice was dead before the Euboea union: thus Macurdy 1932, 92; Grainger 1997, 49 still does.

¹¹⁸ Robert 1951, 201 and Vatin 1970, 92.

¹¹⁹ Aymard 1949a, 334–8.

¹²⁰ Cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 192, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 223 and 578 and Grainger 1997, 49.

¹²¹ Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 194, Holleaux 1930, 212–13, and Vatin 1970, 92 and 94.

¹²² Cf. Seibert 1967, 61 and Will 1979–82, ii 206.

¹²³ Livy 36.17.7; cf. Seibert 1967, 62.

¹²⁴ For the celebration of the marriage to Euboea see, in addition to the Polybius passage quoted, Diodorus 31.2 (cf. 29.2), Livy 36.11, Appian *Syrian Wars* 16, Justin 31.6.3, Plutarch *Flamininus* 16; cf. Bevan 1903, ii 80, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 225, Macurdy 1932, 92, Holleaux 1938–57, v 402, Robert 1949, 25–9, Schmitt 1964, 11 and Seibert 1967, 62.

¹²⁵ Vatin 1970, 93.

¹²⁶ Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 225.

¹²⁷ Livy 37.44.5–6; cf. Macurdy 1932, 93 and Schmitt 1964, 13.

¹²⁸ Sachs and Hunger 1989 under year 187.

¹²⁹ Livy 33.19.

¹³⁰ Inscription published at Wörrle 1988: see lines 3–4 for Mithridates; cf. also Gauthier 1989, 45–6 and 73 on this text.

¹³¹ Thus Wörrle 1988, 451–4.

¹³² Polybius 8.23.

¹³³ The view of Schmitt 1964, 23 and 28 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 190; cf. Grainger 1997, 51.

¹³⁴ Thus Blau 1880, 33–9; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 570.

¹³⁵ Grainger 1997, 15, 22 and 51.

¹³⁶ Cf. Schmitt 1964, 13, drawing attention to his absence from Athenaeus' lists of royal courtesans.

¹³⁷ Plutarch *Moralia* 183f (= *Royal apophthegms* Antiochus III no. 1).

¹³⁸ Pace Schmitt 1964, 13. For Antiochus III's drunkenness see Aurelius Victor *De viris illustribus* 54.

¹³⁹ For discussions of this affair see Mago 1907, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 325 and 590–1, Schmitt 1964, 27, Vatin 1970, 110 and Günther 1995. Green 1990, 444 takes Diodorus' account at face value.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the remarks of Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 221–2.

¹⁴¹ For whom see Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 771 and Plassart 1926–72 no. 1497; cf. Seibert 1967, 69 and Grainger 1997, 52.

¹⁴² For the marriage see Polybius 25.4.8, Diodorus 30.7.2, Appian *Macedonian Wars* 11.2 and Livy 42.12.3–4; cf. Seibert 1967, 69 and Grainger 1997, 37.

¹⁴³ For which see Appian *Syrian Wars* 45; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 240 and Grainger 1997, 64.

¹⁴⁴ Dittenberger 1903–5 248 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 45; cf. Habicht 1989, 341.

¹⁴⁵ For discussion of this text see above all Mørkholm 1964 = Mørkholm 1966, 38–50 and also Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 580–1, Bickerman 1938, 19, Aymard 1953/4 (parts of which are obsolete after Mørkholm), Walbank 1957–79, iii pp. 284–5 (on Polybius 26.1a.1), Zambelli 1960, Bunge 1974, Will 1979–82, ii 304–6, Green 1990, 438–40, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 127 and Grainger 1997, 23.

¹⁴⁶ Diodorus 30.7.2–3 and John of Antioch *FHG* iv p. 559 F98.

¹⁴⁷ See Bevan 1903, ii 126 n. 1 and Plate ii no. 5; see also the reproductions in Aymard 1953/4, opposite p. 64 (*pace* p. 60).

¹⁴⁸ For the birth of Antiochus V see Appian *Syrian Wars* 46 and 66; but Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.13 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 253–4 Schöne puts his birth in 176.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Habicht 1989, 355.

¹⁵⁰ 2 *Maccabees* 4.30; cf. Breccia 1903, 156 and Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 569–70.

¹⁵¹ Polybius 31.2.2 and 4; cf. Aymard 1953/4, 65–7 (but Polybius' alleged reference to a *single* son of Antiochus IV at 31.2.6 manifestly refers to Antiochus, the single son of Seleucus IV).

¹⁵² Memnon *FGH* 434 F22, Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 112, Sallust *Fii*.54, Seneca *Controversies* 7.1.15 and 7.3.4; cf. Reinach 1890, 50–6, especially 55.

¹⁵³ Cf. Mørholm 1960 and Will 1979–82, ii 378.

¹⁵⁴ Strabo C624, 1 *Maccabees* 10.1 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.2.1 and 13.4.1; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 333 n. 1, Will 1979–82, ii 376, Habicht 1989, 362–3 and Green 1990, 444.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 591 for Polybius on Heraclides.

¹⁵⁶ Appian *Syrian Wars* 67.

¹⁵⁷ Appian *Syrian Wars* 67, 68 and 69.

¹⁵⁸ Justin 35.2.4; cf. Trogus *Prologue* 35.

¹⁵⁹ Justin 35.1.6–7 and 9.

¹⁶⁰ Livy *Epitome* 52.

¹⁶¹ Diodorus 31.32a.

¹⁶² Athenaeus 211a.

¹⁶³ Polybius 33.18 (quoted above) and Diodorus 31.32a (where 'Eumenes' is written in mistake for 'Attalus'). For discussion of this episode see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 332–3, Volkmann 1925, 403, Macurdy 1932, 93–4 and Hansen 1971, 135.

¹⁶⁴ Livy *Epitome* 50.

¹⁶⁵ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.2.4, Justin 35.1.10, Appian *Syrian Wars* 67, Eusebius i 255–6 Schöne and 1 *Maccabees* 10.50.

¹⁶⁶ Livy *Epitome* 50; cf. Habicht 1989, 362–3.

¹⁶⁷ Bickerman 1938, 20 and Will 1979–82, ii 376.

¹⁶⁸ Polybius 31.2 (?), 11–15 (for the details of Demetrius' escape itself) and 33 and 32.1–6, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.14–15 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 253–4 Schöne, Appian *Syrian Wars* 47 and 66, 1 *Maccabees* 6.17, 6.55 and 7.1–4, 2 *Maccabees* 10.10 and 14.1–2, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 12.10.1, Justin 34.3.9 and Zonaras 9.25; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 246, 291, 299, 312–18, 582 and 589, Volkmann 1925, 380–90, Will 1979–82, ii 366–8 and 371, Habicht 1989, 353–6, Green 1990, 277 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 222.

¹⁶⁹ Livy *Epitome* 50; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 324, 337, 339, 383 n. 1 and 589–90 and Seibert 1967, 69 and 115.

¹⁷⁰ 1 *Maccabees* 10.51–8 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.4.1–2 and 13.4.5; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 333 and 338, Macurdy 1932, 94, Vatin 1970, 94–5, Will 1979–82, ii 377 and Whitehorne 1994, 149–50.

¹⁷¹ See Houghton 1988; cf. too Richter 1984 figure 238 and Whitehorne

1994, 163.

¹⁷² See 1 *Maccabees* 11.39 for Diodotus as a member of Balas' camp.

¹⁷³ Diodorus 33.4a and 33.28–28a, Appian *Syrian Wars* 68, Strabo C752, Livy *Epitome* 55 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.5.3, 13.6.1 and 13.7.1, 1 *Maccabees* 13.31, Justin 36.1.7, Orosius 5.4.17–18 and John of Antioch F65. Josephus claims at 13.7.1 that Diodotus made up a story to cover his murder; according to manuscript variants, this story was either that the boy died under a surgeon or died of an excess of luxury. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 353–4, 357, 367, 592 and 596–8, Macurdy 1932, 95–6, Fischer 1972, Will 1979–82, ii 404–7, Habicht 1989, 365–8, Green 1990, 534, Whitehorne 1994, 152–3 and Grainger 1997, 28.

¹⁷⁴ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.16 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 255–6 Schöne, but this information is chronologically confused.

¹⁷⁵ 1 *Maccabees* 11.8–12, Josephus 13.4.6–8, Diodorus 32.27.9c, Livy *Epitome* 52, and Polybius 39.7.1; cf. Bevan 1903, ii 220 and 1927, 304, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 343–4, Volkmann 1925, 406, Macurdy 1932, 95, Otto 1934, 125, Vatin 1970, 95, Will 1979–82, ii 319 and 377–9, Green 1990, 446 and Whitehorne 1994, 150–1.

¹⁷⁶ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.4.8, 1 *Maccabees* 11.16–17 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.15 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 255–6 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 348.

¹⁷⁷ See especially Josephus 13.10.1 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 68. Cf. Macurdy 1932, 96 and 99.

¹⁷⁸ Justin 36.1.1–6 and 38.9.2–10, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.5.1, 1 *Maccabees* 14.3, Appian *Syrian Wars* 67 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.16 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 255–8 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 266, 363–6 and 595–8, Will 1979–82, ii 407 and 431 and Whitehorne 1994, 154.

¹⁷⁹ The numismatic evidence is cited below (note 193).

¹⁸⁰ Justin 38.9.3, Athenaeus 153a and Appian *Syrian Wars* 67–8 (the last of whom mistakes Mithridates I for Phraates II); cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 366, Macurdy 1932, 96–7, Debevoise 1938, 35, Bivar 1983, 34–7 and Green 1990, 537.

¹⁸¹ John of Antioch *FHG* iv p. 561.

¹⁸² For the marriage to Antiochus VII see also Justin 36.1.9 and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.7.1–2 and cf. Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.17 and 19 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 255 Schöne; see Breccia 1903, 26–7, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 369, Macurdy 1932, 97, Bellinger 1949, 59, Will 1979–82, ii 410, Green 1990, 535 and Whitehorne 1994, 153.

¹⁸³ Vatin 1970, 98.

¹⁸⁴ Bickerman 1938, 20.

¹⁸⁵ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.20 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257 Schöne. For discussion of this passage, see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 600, Macurdy 1932, 99 and Tarn and Griffith 1952, 102.

¹⁸⁶ Appian *Syrian Wars* 68. Bellinger 1949, 59 n. 4, Will 1979–82, ii 446 and Grainger 1997, 66 believe that this Seleucus was Antiochus VII's own son; Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 386 believes that he was the son of Demetrius II; cf. also Macurdy 1932, 97.

¹⁸⁷ Justin 38.10.10.

¹⁸⁸ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.19 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257 Schöne (where he is mistaken for a son of Antiochus VII himself: see above), and Justin 38.10.10; cf. Diodorus 34/35.17.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 380.

¹⁹⁰ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.19–21 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne, Justin 38.9.10–10.10 and 39.1.6, Diodorus 34/35.17, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.8.4, Appian *Syrian Wars* 68, Athenaeus 439e and Aelian *History of animals* 10.34; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 385, Debevoise 1938, 31–5, Green 1990, 536 and Whitehorne 1994, 156–7. For Phraates' marriage to Laodice see Justin 38.10.10.

¹⁹¹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.20 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne; cf. Appian *Syrian Wars* 68, Josephus 13.10.1 and Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 256; see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 385–6, Macurdy 1932, 97, Bellinger 1949, 59, Will 1979–82, 432 and Whitehorne 1994, 158.

¹⁹² Appian *Syrian Wars* 68; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 161.

¹⁹³ Babelon 1890 pp. lxx, cxlv–vii, 122 and 153–62, Davis and Kraay 1973 plates 93–8 and Richter 1984 figures 239–40; cf. Bellinger 1949, 60 with n. 7, Will 1979–82, ii 433 and Whitehorne 1994, 155–8.

¹⁹⁴ Justin 39.1.3.

¹⁹⁵ Justin 39.1.1–9, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.9.3, Appian *Syrian Wars* 68–9, Livy *Epitome* 60, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.21 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 392–4, Bellinger 1949, 63–4, with n. 22, Green, 1990, 541, Grainger 1991, 135–6 and Whitehorne 1994, 159–60.

¹⁹⁶ Appian *Syrian Wars* 68–9, Justin 39.1.9, Livy *Epitome* 60 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.22 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 393 and 396–7 and Macurdy 1932, 98–9, Bickerman 1938, 14–15, Bellinger 1949, 59 and 64, Will 1979–82, ii 446, Green 1990, 542 and Whitehorne 1994, 60.

¹⁹⁷ See especially Kahrstedt 1910, 296 and 279–80; see also Bevan 1903, ii 250, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 396, Macurdy 1932, 98–9, Bickerman 1938, 218, Bellinger 1949, 64, Vatin 1970, 103, Davis and Kraay 1973 plates 108–16 and Houghton 1988.

¹⁹⁸ For her year of power see Justin 39.1.9; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 160.

¹⁹⁹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 69 (significantly drawing attention to the fact that they were maternal half-siblings), Justin 39.2.10–3.12, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.10.1 and 13.12.2 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.23–4 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–60 Schöne; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 402–3, Bellinger 1949, 66–7, Will 1979–82, ii 446 and Whitehorne 1994, 165–6.

²⁰⁰ Breccia 1903, 12–13.

²⁰¹ Bickerman 1938, 25.

²⁰² Justin 39.1.4–6.

²⁰³ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.21 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne. Eusebius calls him *Zabinas* as does Diodorus 34.22 and 28; this version is confirmed by an inscription, Letronne 1842–8, i p. 61. Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.9.3 has *Zebinas*; Trogus *Prologue* 39 has *Zabinaeus*, which is presumably corrupt. The name apparently derives from the Aramaic *Z'binā*. See Bevan

1903, ii 249 n. 3 and Marcus 1976 at Josephus loc. cit.

²⁰⁴ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.9.3.

²⁰⁵ For discussion see Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 399, Macurdy 1932, 97–8, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 104, Bellinger 1949, 62, 64–5 and Will 1979–82, ii 435–6 and 446, Green 1990, 540–2 and Whitehorne 159–62.

²⁰⁶ Diodorus 34.28, Justin 39.2.1–3 and 5–9, Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.9.3, Appian *Syrian Wars* 69 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.25–8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 257–8 Schöne; cf. Bevan 1903, ii 251, Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 397–400, Macurdy 1932, 99–101, Otto and Bengtson 1938, 104, Bellinger 1949, 64–6, Vatin 1970, 95–6 and 103, Will 1979–82, ii 446–7 and Whitehorne 1994, 161–2 and 165.

²⁰⁷ Justin 39.2.7–8.

²⁰⁸ Galen 14 p. 185 Kühn; cf. Whitehorne 1994, 162.

²⁰⁹ See especially Josephus 13.13.4 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.25–8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–62; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 415–16, Bellinger 1949, 72 n. 62, Will 1979–82, 446 and Sullivan 1990, 65–8 and 356 n. 9.

²¹⁰ Justin 39.4.4; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 412, Bellinger 1949, 71, Vatin 1970, 97 and 103 and Whitehorne 1994, 166–7.

²¹¹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 69; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 416, Bellinger 1949, 72, Vatin 1970, 97–8 and Whitehorne 1994, 165 and 167.

²¹² Cf. also Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.25–8 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 261–2 Schöne and Appian *Syrian Wars* 69–70.

²¹³ Justin 39.3.3; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 404, Bellinger 1949, 67 and Vatin 1970, 98–9 and Will 1979–82, ii 447–8.

²¹⁴ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 404, Bellinger 1949, 68, Will 1979–82, ii 447–8, Green 1990, 549–50 and Whitehorne 1994, 165.

²¹⁵ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.26–7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–60 Schöne and Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.13.4. I do not know why Green 1990, 735, Whitehorne 1994, 16–17 and Grainger 1997, 32 ascribe Antiochus X to an unknown first wife of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus.

²¹⁶ John Malalas p. 208 Dindorf.

²¹⁷ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.13.4, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.26–7 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–60 Schöne and Trogus *Prologue* 40; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 416, Macurdy 1932, 101 and Whitehorne 1994, 167.

²¹⁸ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.4.4, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.26 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–62 Schöne and Appian *Syrian Wars* 69; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 416 and 418, Bellinger 1949, 72–4 and Whitehorne 1994, 169.

²¹⁹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 69; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 419–21, Macurdy 1932, 171, Bellinger 1949, 74, Will 1979–82, ii 446, Green 1990, 551 and Whitehorne 1994, 168.

²²⁰ For the possibility that this Seleucus was Cybiosactes, see Heinen 1968 and Green 1990, 900 n. 18.

²²¹ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.13.4.

²²² The principal evidence for the careers of the sons of Grypus and Tryphaena is Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.13.14 (quoted above), Appian *Syrian Wars* 48–9 and 69–70, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.26 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 259–62 Schöne, Justin 40.2 and Diodorus 40.1a. See Bouché-Leclercq 1913–

15, 419–27 and 441, Bellinger 1949, 72–80, Will 1979–82, ii 447, Schürer 1973, 133–6, Sullivan 1990, 67, 202–5, 356–7 and 407–8 and Green 1990, 551–3.

²²³ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.26 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 261–2 Schöne; identifiable pairs of twins are not very common in the hellenistic dynasties. Cleopatra VII's children by Antony, Cleopatra Selene and Alexander Helios were also twins; Carney suggests that the sons of Cassander by Thessalonice, younger Antipater and Alexander V, may have been twins (see chapter 3).

²²⁴ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.14.3.

²²⁵ Josephus *Jewish antiquities* 13.15.1.

²²⁶ The principal sources for the 69 restoration are: Cicero *Verrines* 2.4.27–30, Appian *Syrian Wars* 49–50 and *Mithridatic Wars* 106, Plutarch *Pompey* 39, Justin 40.2, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F32.27 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 261–2 Schöne, Dio Cassius 37.7a and 39.57, Strabo C796 and Diodorus 50.1b. See Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, ii 161 and 1913–14, 427, 433–6, 441–3, 452, 455 and 607–9, Bellinger 1949, 80–6, Will 1979–82, ii 496, 505–6, 509–10 and 521, Green 1990, 658–9 and Whitehorne 1994, 170.

Chapter 6

THE ANTIGONIDS

The Antigonids were to produce the most graphic and best documented example of an amphimetric dispute in the hellenistic world, that between the sons of Philip V, Perseus and Demetrius. But this dispute was actually as untypical of the Antigonids in particular as it was typical of the hellenistic dynasties in general. Although the dynasty was polygamous, it was preserved from amphimetric strife until this generation by the combination of a relative paucity of sons and, more importantly, a strong internal code of loyalty. We began the Argument of this book by quoting some observations of Plutarch from his discussion of the internal loyalty and stability of the Antigonids. In this same passage Plutarch explains how devoted Demetrius I Poliorcetes was to his father Antigonus I Monophthalmos, and that Antigonus, the dynasty's founder, believed that the power of a kingdom lay in the harmoniousness of the relationship between father and son. So high was the level of trust between himself and Demetrius that he could allow him to come into his presence with hunting spears.¹ It is easy to find further examples of this internal harmony: Plutarch also attests Antigonus Gonatas' regard for his father, Demetrius Poliorcetes, in recounting the extreme measures he took to release him from Seleucus;² Antigonus Doson's actions in defence of Philip V's position speak for themselves (see below). A particularly striking example of the harmony within the family is the devotion of Antigonus Gonatas to his maternal half-brother, Craterus son of Craterus, a relationship commented on by Plutarch in his essay *On fraternal love*.³ When this family harmony that Antigonus had contrived to instil among his descendants finally did break down, there was a clear and overriding external cause: the heavy-handed interference of Rome.

The Antigonid evidence challenges many preconceptions about issues of marriage and legitimacy in the hellenistic world, for although there were some clear hierarchisations of status for the king's various women, the sons of courtesans (*hetairai*) could succeed unproblematically, and indeed their prospects of succession improved steadily throughout the course of the dynasty.

The origin of Antigonus I Monophthalmos

No elaborate tale of problematic origin survives for Antigonus, as there does for the other Successors. The nearest we come is Aelian's assertion that he was in origin a yeoman peasant (*autourgos*).⁴ The Antigonids in fact claimed kinship with the Argeads, and it was perhaps in the confidence of this that they were the first to take the title of king in 306 after Cassander's extirpation of the Argead family.⁵

The family of Antigonus I Monophthalmos

Stratonice

Demetrius I Poliorcetes

Philip

Antigonus Monophthalmos (ruled 306–301) is only known to have had one wife, Stratonice, daughter of a presumably noble Macedonian Corrhagus (see below), whom he married *c.* 338–7, and by her he had two sons, of whom only one, Demetrius Poliorcetes, survived him.

Two sons, therefore, were born to Antigonus from Stratonice the daughter of Corrhagus. He named the first Demetrius after his brother, and the second Philip after his father. This is the story most tell, but some say that Demetrius was not the son but the nephew of Antigonus. For his father had died when Demetrius was still a tiny infant, whereupon his mother was immediately married to Antigonus. Hence Demetrius was considered to be the son of Antigonus. But it happened that Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died. Plutarch *Demetrius* 2

There was accordingly little opportunity here for dispute. The approximate date of the marriage can be calculated from the fact that Demetrius is known to have been 55 when he died in 283, on the assumption that Plutarch's tale at any rate testifies to the fact that Demetrius was born close to the beginning of the marriage.⁶

Plutarch's tale is a curious one. In some ways it is akin to tales that seek to deny that apparent sons of kings are their true heirs, as in the allegation against the Spartan king Demaratus relayed by Herodotus that he was not, as was initially believed, the son of king Ariston, but the son of the commoner Agetus, with whose child Ariston's wife had already been pregnant when he took her off his friend.⁷ However, as the nephew of the otherwise sonless Antigonus, Demetrius would still have been his heir.

No certain traces of any other marriages or liaisons are recorded for Antigonus, although since Antigonus was in his early forties when he married Stratonice (he was 81 at his death in 301),⁸ it is probable that he did have other liaisons prior to this one. For Billows it is an

'attractive feature of Antigonos's character...that he was very much a family man.'⁹ There is, however, a disputed indication of a relationship with a *hetaira*: Athenaeus, quoting Heraclides Lembos, tells that Antigonus Monophthalmos fell in love with Demo, one of Demetrius Poliorcetes' *hetairai*, and killed his officer Oxythemis, for, among other things, torturing to death some of her handmaids.¹⁰ A vague passing reference by Lucian in a list of royal hellenistic intrigues to an 'Antigonus committing "adultery" with (*moicheuonta*) the wife (*gynaika*) of his son' would appear to refer to this same episode: no other known episode from the life of this or the other Antigonuses would fit the bill.¹¹ However, the tale as related by Heraclides at any rate appears anachronistic, because Oxythemis was alive and working for Demetrius Poliorcetes as late as the 294–287 period, long after Antigonus Monophthalmos' death at Ipsus in 301.¹² For this reason Tarn associates the Heraclides tale rather with Antigonus Gonatas (who thus fell in love with one of his *father's* courtesans). Antigonus Gonatas definitely did have a *hetaira* Demo of his own, by whom he had his son Halcyoneus (on whom see below). Plutarch does ascribe a *hetaira* Demo to Demetrius Poliorcetes, but he gives her the additional name of Mania, which Athenaeus gives rather to another of Demetrius' *hetairai*, Melitta.¹³ The 'Demo' problem will be discussed further in Part II.

The family of Demetrius I Poliorcetes

<i>Phila</i> Antigonus II Gonatas Stratonice	<i>Eurydice</i> Corrhagus <i>vel sim.</i>	<i>Deidameia</i> Alexander
<i>Lanassa</i>	<i>Ptolemais</i> Demetrius the Fair	<i>Illyrian</i> Demetrius the Meagre
<i>Lamia</i> Phila	<i>Demo?</i>	

Plutarch twice explicitly asserts that Demetrius I (ruled 306–283; Fig. 9) was polygamous,¹⁴ and he lists the children that stemmed from these various unions with an apparent intention of comprehensiveness:

Demetrius left behind him as his family Antigonus [II Gonatas], by Phila, and Stratonice too, two Demetriuses, one of them 'the Meagre' (*Leptos*), by an Illyrian woman, and the other the one that ruled Cyrene [Demetrius the Fair], by Ptolemais, and Alexander, who spent his life in Egypt, by Deidameia. It is said also that a son Corrhagus was born to him by Eurydice. The line drawn from him continued in kingship by succession until the final Perseus, during whose reign the Romans conquered Macedonia.

Plutarch *Demetrius* 53

For Plutarch Phila, who was around 30 when she married the 17-year old Demetrius, was the most esteemed of his wives.¹⁵ He married her in 320, at the behest of his father.¹⁶ She was valuable to him as the daughter of the elder Antipater, regent of Macedon, and, by levirate, as the widow of Craterus, who had been designated regent of Macedon.¹⁷ Plutarch gives the splendour of Phila's background as an important reason for Demetrius' choice of her son Antigonus Gonatas as his heir,¹⁸ but it should be noted that Antigonus was probably also the eldest of Demetrius' sons. The transition of power from Demetrius to Antigonus was smoother than it might have been because Demetrius was captured by Seleucus and therefore had to hand over power whilst he was still alive:

When Demetrius had fallen into such an unfortunate situation, he sent to his son's camp and to his generals and friends at Athens and Corinth and told them not to place any trust in letters from himself or his seal, but to keep the cities and everything else under guard for Antigonus, just as if he himself were dead.

Plutarch *Demetrius* 51¹⁹

It is possible that the famous fresco of the Villa de Boscoreale depicts Antigonus Gonatas, his mother Phila and Menedemos of Eretria.²⁰

Phila remained Demetrius' wife subsequent to other marriages made by him: he was marrying other women at least by 307, but she is referred to in an inscription which must be subsequent to 306 under the title of a 'queen' (*basilissa*);²¹ the use of the term need only imply a royal status, rather than a unique and exceptional status among the women of Demetrius, but its use surely does entail that she remained his wife. Furthermore, in 301 she was by Demetrius' side when he gave their daughter Stratonice to Seleucus at Rhossus; it is easier to suppose



Fig. 9. Demetrius Poliorcetes.
Silver tetradrachm.
British Museum G0482 obv.
© British Museum.

that she had remained Demetrius' wife, rather than that she had just been brought back for her daughter's wedding.²² From these celebrations Demetrius sent her on to visit her brother Cassander to defend him against the charges brought by Pleistarchus; since she was Demetrius' representative she was, again, surely still his wife.²³ And when Phila believed that Demetrius had suffered a reversal from which he could not recover in 288, she, 'his wife (*gynē*) Phila', in Plutarch's words, committed suicide: surely something she would not have done had their fates not still been linked through marriage.²⁴ A further indication that she was never divorced was the fact that, although such an important prize, she was never taken up by any other of the Successors. (Demetrius did not perhaps marry a second wife until Phila's fertility was past, but she retained symbolic value even if her fertility was gone.) A token of the esteem in which Demetrius was considered to hold Phila was the dedication of cults to her by the Athenians.²⁵

When Demetrius went on to marry Eurydice in 307,²⁶ Phila had probably passed her menopause, as she had been around thirty when she had married Demetrius in 320. Eurydice was a member of the ancient and distinguished Attic family of the Philaids (the family of Cimon and Miltiades), and she was the widow of Ophellas of Cyrene. The marriage thus served two immediate functions: it complimented the Athenians, and it constituted a claim to Cyrene via levirate, a claim which Demetrius' son Demetrius the Fair was briefly to realise (see chapter 4). It is possible that Eurydice became less valuable to Demetrius when he fell out with Athens and when Ptolemy captured Cyrene.²⁷ By Eurydice Demetrius sired a son known as Corrhagus, Corrhabus or Corrhæus (the manuscripts of Plutarch are confused), who was probably named for Demetrius' maternal grandfather.²⁸ We know nothing of his status.

In 303 Demetrius married the prestigious Deidameia, daughter of Aeacides, king of the Molossians. She was no less than the sister of Pyrrhus, the cousin of Alexander the Great and the former fiancée of Alexander IV. She was valuable therefore both for her historical connections and the current alliance that she could bring. By her Demetrius sired, as we saw, the Alexander 'who spent his life in Egypt'. He was captured by Ptolemy in 301, alongside Demetrius' mother Stratonice. But the marriage was a brief one, for Deidameia died in 301.²⁹

In 291 Demetrius married Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse. She had recently separated herself from her husband Pyrrhus, and she brought with her Corcyra and Leucas as dowry.³⁰

Despite her 'auto-ecdosis', the dowry guaranteed that the union was marriage, and Plutarch explicitly tells that she requested from Demetrius 'royal marriage' (*basilikōn gamōn*). An *ithyphallos* was perhaps sung for Demetrius and his new bride in Athens, with the couple assimilated to Dionysus and Demeter.³¹ Plutarch tells us that Lanassa curiously abandoned her marriage to Pyrrhus out of pride because of his preference for two of his other, barbarian wives, Birkenna, daughter of Bardylis the Illyrian, and the daughter of the Paeonian Autoleon.³² Why did she then give herself to a prince who was already in a state of polygamy and who she knew was all too ready to marry? Demetrius is not known to have had any children by her.

In 287, the year after Phila's death, Demetrius finally married her niece Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy I Soter by Phila's sister Eurydice, after a long betrothal which had begun in 298 (see chapter 4 for details). Macurdy speculates that Demetrius postponed the marriage until after Phila's death in order to spare her insult.³³ By Ptolemais Demetrius sired Demetrius the Fair (*Kalos*),³⁴ who eventually went on to marry Berenice, the heiress of Cyrene (again, see chapter 4 for the details of this ill-fated match). By an earlier marriage Demetrius the Fair had sired the future king, Antigonus III Doson. There is therefore little reason to doubt the high status of this union.

It is possible that Demetrius Poliorcetes also had an Illyrian wife. In listing Demetrius' 'family' (*genea*), Plutarch includes, as we saw, a son, attested only here, called Demetrius the Meagre (*Leptos*), born 'of an Illyrian woman'.³⁵ The epithet gives the appearance of having been coined specifically to distinguish him from the Fair Demetrius. Bouché-Leclercq took this epithet and his mother's supposed ignominy to indicate that this son was a 'bastard'.³⁶ This is not an assumption we can afford: meagreness was by no means a transparent metaphor for bastardy in an ancient Greek context; and it is clear that Philip II at any rate married an Illyrian. Perhaps the strongest indicator against high status for the woman was the fact that Plutarch was not able to discover her name.

It might be argued that Plutarch considered all the unions and children mentioned so far to be have been 'legitimate', since he lists them all at the end of his *Demetrius*. Demetrius had at least one child that goes unmentioned by Plutarch here, Phila, his daughter by the *hetaira* Lamia. The reason for this omission may be that Plutarch believed she was illegitimate, in contrast to the named children. It is easier to suppose, however, that Plutarch merely overlooked Phila, and that legitimacy was not a criterion for his list.

Demetrius was notorious for his many liaisons with courtesans and indeed free 'respectable' women.³⁷ At one stage he allegedly contrived to fill the back room of the Parthenon with his girls.³⁸ Plutarch in particular devotes much attention to his liaison with the *hetaira* Lamia,³⁹ daughter of the Athenian Cleanor,⁴⁰ who was captured from Ptolemy at the battle of Salamis in 306. He claims that she was the only woman Demetrius ever actively pursued as a lover.⁴¹ The many tales recounted about her make it clear that she was indeed a courtesan, but the Athenians and Thebans actually gave her divine honours, and built a temple to Aphrodite Lamia.⁴² From this Geyer concludes that Demetrius considered her a princess.⁴³ The daughter she bore Demetrius, Phila, is mentioned by Athenaeus.⁴⁴ The name, oddly recalling that of the mother of Demetrius' heir suggests high status. It is noteworthy that Plutarch tells that Demetrius' attentions to Lamia aroused envy (*zēlos* and *phthonos*) among his married wives (*gametai*).⁴⁵

With Lamia we may also wish to compare Demo. We argued above (under Antigonus I) that Lucian's reference to Antigonus committing adultery with (*moicheuonta*) the wife (*gynaika*) of his son⁴⁶ implies, when connected with Heraclides Lembos' reference to Antigonus' penchant for Demetrius' undoubted *hetaira* Demo,⁴⁷ that Demetrius may have been considered married to Demo. No children are known from this union. Another courtesan of Demetrius who appears to have enjoyed high status was Myrrhine, of whom Athenaeus, quoting Nicolaus of Damascus, says that, diadem aside, she participated in the royalty.⁴⁸ Again, no children are known. (We shall return to Demetrius' many courtesans in Part II.)

Despite the fact that Demetrius sired many sons from many unions, the succession of Antigonus II Gonatas was unproblematic. It is difficult to make any absolute differentiations in status between the various wives of Demetrius or between his various sons, although a slight case can be made for the lesser status of Demetrius the Meagre. We must look to the internal loyalty of the Antigonid family to explain the unchallenged accession of Gonatas. The exalted status that Demetrius accorded to *hetairai* in general and to Lamia in particular (and his decision to rear her daughter) had a significant effect on the future construction of legitimacy in the dynasty. The tendency to erase the status-distinction even between wives and courtesans (which seems to have been relatively firm in other dynasties) might have been felt likely to throw an already polygamous dynasty into particular chaos. The fact that it did not is again testimony to the strength of family loyalty within the dynasty.

The family of Antigonus II Gonatas

Phila

Demetrius II Aetolicus

Demo

Halcyoneus

As we saw, Antigonus II Gonatas (ruled 283–239) was declared successor to his father *inter vivos*. After Demetrius' death Antigonus elaborately reaffirmed his role as successor by conducting a showy naval funeral procession: Demetrius' ashes were placed in a golden urn upon the poop of his flagship. The procession called in at many cities, including Corinth, to permit the locals to make due obsequies, before the late king was brought to his final resting place at his refounded Sicyon, Demetrias.⁴⁹

By contrast with Demetrius Poliorcetes, and somewhat after the fashion of his grandfather Monophthalmos, Gonatas is only known to have had one wife. She too was a Phila, and was the daughter of his sister Stratonice and Seleucus I: the woman given to the Seleucids in the first generation was returned in the second. This union was probably arranged in 281 and realised between 276 and 272, when Antigonus was already at least 43.⁵⁰ Aratus of Soli attended the wedding, and may have composed a wedding hymn for the occasion which told how Antigonus' divine patron, Pan, had routed the Gauls (in 279).⁵¹ By Phila Antigonus sired a son, Demetrius II Aetolicus, who was the only son of his still alive at the time of his death in 239, and so succeeded unproblematically. He had in any case been associated on the throne from at least 257.⁵²

As one might expect of one marrying so late in life, Antigonus had previously had a cherished relationship with a *hetaira*, Demo, by whom he had had a son, Halcyoneus, termed 'bastard' by Ptolemy of Megalopolis.⁵³ Halcyoneus was apparently treated like a crown prince:⁵⁴ in 272 he was holding high command, and defended Argos against Pyrrhus.⁵⁵ This was just four years after the earliest possible date for Antigonus' marriage to Phila, so it is clear that Halcyoneus was already adult by the time of Demetrius II's birth. We also know that the Stoic Persaeus was his tutor.⁵⁶ Tarn guesses that he died fighting against the Spartans under Areus at Corinth in 264, since, had he been alive in 262, he and not Demetrius would have commanded the army invading Ephesus, as Demetrius was only 13 at the time.⁵⁷ However, Perseus was to hold a command at 13,⁵⁸ so it is theoretically possible that the son regarded as relatively legitimate, now judged old enough, had usurped the place of the one regarded as relatively bastard. After the death of Halcyoneus Antigonus instituted and endowed a yearly festival at Athens in honour of his birthday. The festival was placed under

the charge of the philosopher Hieronymus of Rhodes, who had possibly been a friend of Halcyoneus.⁵⁹

The exalted status of Halcyoneus can be explained by the fact that until at least the age of 43 Antigonus had no other heir. But had he lived, would he have succeeded Antigonus? His premature death left this question importantly unresolved. As Lamia's status under Demetrius Poliorcetes had doubtless helped to boost that of Demo and Halcyoneus under Antigonus, so Halcyoneus' status under Antigonus was to boost a *hetaira's* child all the way to the throne in the next generation.

The family of Demetrius II Aetolicus

<i>Stratonice</i>	<i>Phthia</i>	<i>Nicaea?</i>	<i>Chryseis</i>
Apama?	Children?		Philip V

Demetrius II Aetolicus⁶⁰ (ruled 239–229) returned to polygamy. He began by marrying in 255 or 253 Stratonice, the daughter of Antiochus I by his (Demetrius') great aunt Stratonice, but she was offended specifically because he took another wife, Phthia, in addition to her:

Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus...ran to Demetrius, and although he already had the sister of king Antiochus [II] of Syria for wife, she handed over to him her daughter Phthia in marriage [before 246], so that she could obtain his aid by the right of relationship, since she could not do this by arousing his pity alone. Therefore the wedding took place, at which Demetrius won gratitude from the new marriage, but caused offence to the old. For his former wife, as if driven out of her marriage, departed of her own accord to her brother Antiochus and drove him to make war on her husband. Justin 28.1.1–4⁶¹

A period of polygamy, however brief, is therefore guaranteed for Demetrius: Tarn was wrong to suppose that monogamy can have been offered to Nicaea between Demetrius' marriages to Stratonice and Phthia.⁶² Stratonice probably abandoned Demetrius before 246, since Justin places her return to Syria within the reign of Antiochus II (she was still there in 230, according to Agatharchides of Cnidus).⁶³ No children by Stratonice are certainly identifiable: it has been argued that Apama, who became wife to Prusias II of Bithynia and mother of Epiphanes Nicomedes, was hers, although she is better considered a daughter of Philip V.⁶⁴

Phthia, who was correspondingly married at some point prior to 246, was very valuable as the heiress to the throne of Epirus, and indeed Epirus may have been under Macedonian influence for a few years.⁶⁵

Probably in 244 Antigonus Gonatas offered his son's hand to Nicaea, the widow of Alexander of Corinth (a descendant of Antipater), who controlled the Acrocorinth. Evidently this marriage was to be a polygamous one for Demetrius, since it would overlap with the marriage to Phthia. But the offer of marriage turned out to be no more than a cunning stratagem—which is narrated in detail and with relish by Plutarch—to permit Antigonus to gain control of the fortress. Despite the great pomp of the preparatory celebrations, the marriage itself was not formally completed, and no children ensued from it.⁶⁶

Demetrius also kept a Thessalian war-captive, Chryseis. Some scholars have attempted to identify Chryseis with Phthia.⁶⁷ The main impulse for this identification comes from a concern that Demetrius' son and heir, Philip V, who is said to have been born of Chryseis, should have been born of a suitably prestigious wife, rather than a mere courtesan. But there are no good grounds for such an identification. All the literary sources that identify the mother of Philip V—Porphyry, Syncellus and *Etymologicum Magnum*—identify her as Chryseis.⁶⁸

To whom [Antigonus II Gonatas] his son Demetrius [II Aetolicus] succeeded. He even captured the whole of Libya, gained control of Cyrene, and brought back afresh under his monarchic power everything that had belonged to his father. He reigned for ten years. He took a woman from his prisoners-of-war to wife, whom he called Chryseis. He had his son Philip [V] from this wife. I say that this man, who first waged war with the Romans, was the cause of troubles for the Macedonians. Anyway Philip, who was left an orphan, was taken care of under the guardianship of a man from the royal family, who was nick-named Phouskos [i.e. Antigonus III Doson]. When they saw that Phouskos was behaving justly in his guardianship, they made him king, and they also betrothed Chryseis to him. He did not rear the children that were born to him from Chryseis, so that he might preserve the kingship for Philip without treachery. And indeed he delivered Philip to the kingship, and himself died.

Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13–14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne⁶⁹

Admittedly, Porphyry and the other authors named above are not sources to inspire the greatest confidence, and it should be conceded that the Porphyry passage, from which the Syncellus passage may indeed also be derived, does contain a crass error: Demetrius II Aetolicus and Demetrius the Fair are confused. Arguments that the Porphyry passage contains other errors too (relating to the epithet *Phouskos* and the term *Makedones*) are tendentious.⁷⁰

Porphyry and Syncellus say that Chryseis was a Thessalian war-captive (*aichmalōtos*). This seems plausible enough: the name Chryseis well

suits a woman who is a war-captive and a concubine: the famous Chryseis of the *Iliad* was such. This consideration of course suggests that the name of Chryseis was given to the woman only after her capture. Porphyry may be conscious of the *Iliad* parallel, for he makes Chryseis' child Philip V the 'cause of troubles' for the Macedonians (*kakōn aition*, in Eusebius' Greek version), as one may argue that Chryseis had been for the Greeks in the *Iliad*.⁷¹ Chryseis was also a common name for *hetairai*.⁷² Despite all this Porphyry explicitly says that Demetrius married (*gēmas*, in Eusebius' Greek) Chryseis. The union must have commenced before 238, when Philip V was born.⁷³ An indication that Philip had a mother of at any rate disputable marital status *may* be found in Polybius' description of Philip as Demetrius II's 'natural' (*kata physin*) son, which could be read in implicit contrast to 'legitimate' (*kata nomon*). However, the phrase is more easily read in implicit contrast to 'adopted' (*kata thesin*), for Philip was after all the adopted son of Antigonos III Doson.⁷⁴

We can be all but certain that Phthia was still around and still maintained in a position of honour after the birth of Philip to Chryseis. An Athenian inscription of 236–5 in honour of one Aristophanes, in which some of the royal names have been subjected to *damnatio memoriae*, refers to Demetrius and a 'queen' (*basilissēs*) of his and their (plural) children.⁷⁵ A second inscription, subjected to more severe erasure, perhaps contained similar formulas.⁷⁶ In the 236–5 inscription the erased name of the queen contained, in its genitive form, five letters: the appropriate form of 'Phthia' (ΦΘΙΑΣ) fits the bill well and seems unavoidable.⁷⁷ It is apparent therefore not only that Phthia remained in situ after the beginning of the liaison with Chryseis and after the birth of Chryseis' son Philip, but also that she retained a high rank. It is less clear whether she had any children, despite the inscription's apparent reference to 'their (*autōn*) children': this phrase is a fairly formulaic one in honorific inscriptions, and may refer hypothetically to children, or even more remotely to 'descendants', to be born in the future.⁷⁸ If it is used to refer to existing children, it may refer loosely to the children of Demetrius irrespective of biological mother, i.e. Philip and Apama, if the latter existed. This may be the implication of the second reference to children in the 236–5 inscription, 'king Demetrius and *his* (*autou*) children'. If Phthia did have children herself, and they did survive to adulthood, it is astounding that there is no reference to them in the literary sources, which are extremely rich for the Philip V period (notably Polybius and Livy). At any rate, it should be noted that this inscription does not obstruct the hypothesis

that Chryseis was the mother of Philip V.⁷⁹

Although Philip V's claim to legitimacy may have been poor, he is the only offspring of Demetrius of whom we have any positive knowledge. The way to the throne for the son of a *hetaira* or a concubine had been paved by (the early death of) Gonatas' son Halcyoneus. It must be admitted that one of such precarious birth was very lucky to reach the throne unchallenged: he owed much to the exceptional internal loyalty of the Antigonid family as a whole and to that of his regent Antigonus Doson in particular. The fact that Philip's accession went unchallenged perhaps explains why our sources can pick up on the 'bastardy' of Philip without making an issue out of it

The reign of Antigonus III Doson

Once it had been decided that the boy Philip V, still only 8, should succeed his father, a regent needed to be found.⁸⁰ Antigonus Doson (ruled 229–221) was selected; he was a son of Demetrius the Fair, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemais, and therefore Philip's half-cousin once-removed. His mother was Demetrius the Fair's first wife, the Thessalian Olympias, daughter of an otherwise unknown Polyclitus.⁸¹

A number of sources tell that Doson was initially guardian/regent without the title of king, but that he was eventually pressed by the Macedonians, against his own inclinations, to take up the title, and also to marry Chryseis on the occasion of his assumption of the kingship.⁸² He probably became king fairly soon after his appointment to the guardianship, however, and so the marriage to Chryseis presumably took place in 229 too.⁸³ Doson's diffidence in taking on the title and the marriage is further indication of his sense of familial loyalty. It was quite usual that a guardian and regent should marry his charge's widowed mother, just as among the Argeads Ptolemy of Alorus, a rather poorer guardian than Doson, had married Eurydice, the mother of his charges. This was an act of levirate legitimation.⁸⁴

Antigonus Doson constitutes the most remarkable example of Antigonid family loyalty: so aware was he of the conflicts that could arise from the competing lines created by polygamies and regencies that he actually exposed his own sons in order to preserve the throne for his ward.⁸⁵ His sure undertaking to yield the throne to his ward was perhaps embodied in his epithet *Dōsōn*, which may have meant 'he who will give': Plutarch at any rate seems to have read the name as equivalent to or derived from the future participle of the verb *didōmi*, 'to give', in his *Aemilius Paullus*, where he quotes it in its nominative

form and advances a mischievous interpretation of it as referring to Antigonus' supposed habit of making promises that he did not fulfil.⁸⁶ But in his *Coriolanus* he quotes the epithet in an accusative form, *Dōsōna*, which distinguishes it from the participle (which would have been *Dōsonta* in this case).⁸⁷ It is, I suppose, possible that the nominative participle did originally supply the epithet, but that it was then remodelled to inflect on the model of some proper names ending in *-ōn* (like *Konōn*). Antigonus' loyalty towards Philip was commemorated in a statue set up in the Altis at Olympia, which portrayed Greece crowning both Antigonus III and Philip V.⁸⁸

The family of Philip V

Polycrateia

Perseus

—Apama and at least one other daughter —

Wife X

Demetrius

Wife Y?

'real' Philip?

The legitimacy dispute between the amphimetric sons of Philip V (221–179), Perseus and Demetrius, is the best documented of all the hellenistic dynastic disputes. Untypical of the Antigonids though it was,⁸⁹ it is therefore tempting to calque other, less well attested hellenistic legitimacy disputes on it. Of particular interest in this evidence is the alignment of the bastardy dispute with a policy dispute, and the effect of the interference of a foreign power, Rome, in the order of the dynasty.

Perseus' mother was almost certainly the noble Argive Polycrateia, whom Philip had stolen from the younger Aratus, although no source explicitly says this.⁹⁰ Plutarch, incredibly, tells that Philip's wife passed off as her own the child of an Argive sewing-woman, Gnathainion;⁹¹ this claim at least serves to show that Perseus did officially pass for the child of a wife of Philip, and to supply the Argive connection. Was 'Gnathainion', if she existed, a maid or a lady-in-waiting (like Eurydice's Berenice) whom Polycrateia brought with her from home? Or was she a prejudicial representation of Polycrateia herself? Polycrateia was of a reasonably respectable background: her former husband aside, she belonged to the house of the Polycrates who had been powerful in Egypt under the Ptolemies.⁹² We may assume that she was formally married to Philip (albeit without formal betrothal or handing-over), since Livy tells that Philip took her off to Macedon 'in expectation of a royal marriage.'⁹³ The marriage was presumably accomplished. Although Livy does elsewhere refer to Perseus' mother as a concubine (*paelex*),⁹⁴ this occurs in a tendentious passage of reported speech; and Livy is in any case, as a Roman source, thoroughly

Demetrian, and therefore inclined to bastardise Perseus wherever possible. Philip took on Polycrateia in 213, since it was just before the death of the older Aratus, according to Livy.⁹⁵ Such a date also fits well with Perseus having been born as a prompt first fruit of the union, since Livy tells that he was 30 in 182/3 and Eutropius supplies the compatible information that he was 45 in 167.⁹⁶ Although Philip's marriage to Polycrateia was in some ways similar to the subsequent one between Antiochus III and Euboea, it did not have the same propaganda value, since the woman was apparently taken, if not against her own will, then against that of her guardians.⁹⁷ An inscription from the period after the execution of Demetrius accords Perseus the 'king' (*basileus*) protocol during his father's reign. He was, then, associated on the throne by Philip.⁹⁸

For all the abuse that Demetrius whipped up against the obscurity of Perseus' mother, his own was so obscure—or at any rate she is so obscure to us—that we can say nothing about her other than that she was evidently distinct from Perseus', since some of the abuse directed against Perseus focused on the standing in itself of his mother (see below).⁹⁹ Demetrius' mother may indeed have been of higher birth-status than Polycrateia, but in view of the career of Halyconeus, and especially in view of his own elevation to the throne, there was no reason for Philip to regard descent from a lower-born mother as an obstacle to Perseus' succession. Demetrius was about five years younger than Perseus, and so born around 208:¹⁰⁰ he may, but need not, have been born of a woman acquired subsequently to Polycrateia; there is no reason to rule out polygamy on Philip's part.¹⁰¹ In an inscription of around 200 from Stratoniceia a 'queen' (*basilissēs*) of Philip's is mentioned along with her 'children' (*teknōn*): it is not clear whether this queen is Polycrateia, Demetrius' mother, or indeed another woman.¹⁰²

Let us turn to the dispute between Perseus and Demetrius itself. The root of the problem was that after Philip's defeat at the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 Demetrius was forced to spend his formative years, those between 11 and 17 (197–191), in Rome as a hostage.¹⁰³ He was thus strongly socialised in Rome's favour. We have seen already the superb effectiveness of the taking of young princes hostage: the effects of the Seleucid Demetrius II's detention in Parthia are the most striking; Rome achieved much by the detention of the Seleucids Demetrius I and Antiochus IV also. Hardly less striking are the effects of the detention of the historian Polybius himself in Rome, which are evident throughout and indeed in the very conception of his *Histories*.

After the battle of Maroneia in 184 the Romans, Flamininus in particular, made it clear that Demetrius was their favoured heir, and Perseus accordingly began to fear for his succession. The princes began to plot against each other, with Demetrius becoming ever more overtly pro-Roman.¹⁰⁴ It was doubtless from this point that the allegations of Perseus' bastardy began.

The traces of these allegations, some of which we have already mentioned, may be listed:

He [Perseus] is said not even to have been born legitimate/of the blood of Philip (*gnēsios*), but it is said that Philip's wife acquired him as a new-born child, an Argive sewing-woman by the name of Gnathainion having borne him, and that she succeeded in taking him up as a supposititious child.

Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.7

Whom [Perseus] they say is not legitimate, but supposititious, born of a certain Gnathainion, a sewing woman.

Plutarch *Aratus* 54.3

The Macedonian people, whom the prospect of war from the Romans had terrified, looked with immense favour upon Demetrius as a proponent of peace, and in so doing gave him the sure hope that they were marking him out as heir to the kingdom after the death of his father. For even if he were younger in age than Perseus, he, Demetrius, was born of the proper mother of the family (*iusta matre familiae*), whereas Perseus was born of a concubine (*paelice*). Perseus, being born of a body that had been used in common by men, had no characteristic of an identifiable father, but Demetrius carried before him a manifest resemblance to Philip. In addition it was said that the Romans would set Demetrius upon the throne of his father, and that Perseus had no credit with them.

Livy 39.53.2–3

[Perseus speaks] It is not in vain that those people of yours say that you [Philip] have only one son, Demetrius, and call me supposititious and born of a concubine (*paelice*).

Livy 40.9.2

[Perseus] came second to Demetrius in all other things too, but especially in birth and manners.

Polybius 23.7

Demetrius excelled by far in maternal birth, courage, intellect and the support of the Macedonians.

Livy 41.23.10

[Perseus] The son of some woman of no account (*adoxou*).

Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43

[Demetrius] the best-born of his sons...

Diodorus 29.25

These reflections of Demetrian propaganda contain: the accusation that Perseus was the son of Philip, though born of a lower-status mother than Demetrius'; that Perseus was a son of Philip, but that his

mother was not married to Philip and was merely his concubine; and that Perseus was no son of Philip at all, being supposititious and born of an extremely low-status mother and no identifiable father.¹⁰⁵ The allegation that Demetrius resembled Philip more than Perseus did may receive some support from Perseus' coins, the portraits upon which do not much resemble those of Philip.¹⁰⁶ In speeches given to Perseus by Livy, which are unlikely to be genuine, Perseus defends his right of succession by appeal to primogeniture.¹⁰⁷

In 183 Perseus accused Demetrius of trying to assassinate him, and Philip began to investigate Demetrius' Roman connections. The results of the investigation damned Demetrius, who planned to flee to Rome. Philip, egged on by Perseus, had him executed in 180.¹⁰⁸ We need not discuss here Livy's quite implausible epilogue to these events concerning Antigonus the son of Echecrates.¹⁰⁹ Scholars have been eager to pass judgement on these events: Edson commends Philip for acting only after long investigation and reflection, and finds fault with Rome for clumsy meddling in dynastic politics in favour of a prince she did genuinely like (a view close to my own).¹¹⁰ Hammond and Walbank consider that Rome had a cynical plan to divide and rule (it is hard to believe that she did not have such plans in the cases of the death-throes of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies).¹¹¹ Gruen, Dell and Green deny any positive malice on Rome's part.¹¹² Adams argues that the consequent Roman distrust of Perseus for the role she had herself forced upon him was the principal cause of the Third Macedonian War that was to destroy the dynasty.¹¹³

The dispute between Perseus and Demetrius provides a classic example of a legitimacy dispute and a policy dispute becoming aligned. Dell pointedly and persuasively portrays the conflict between the princes primarily in terms of a policy dispute internal to Macedon: Demetrius, as being favourable to Rome, objected particularly to Philip's policy for Balkan expansion and the repopulation of Macedon, with which Perseus was closely associated, as evidenced by his work in the field, the foundation of 'Perseis' at Stobi and his marriage (if it happened) to a Bastarnian princess.¹¹⁴

Philip V's probable third son, also Philip, is best dealt with in the next section. Here let us merely mention that Philip also appears to have had daughters. In 203/4 Agathocles, minister of Ptolemy V, asked for the hand of a daughter of Philip for the child king in order to make a defensive alliance against Antiochus III.¹¹⁵ The marriage did not materialise. On the assumption that Polycrateia was Philip V's first wife, he cannot have had a daughter older than Perseus, so any girl

whose hand was sought in 204/3, whether born of Polycrateia or any other woman, was unlikely to be more than 9 or 10. But such a child bride may well have suited the child king. By 197 Philip apparently had more than one daughter, since Philocles the commander of Corinth and Argos suggested that Philip might be willing to marry 'his daughters' to the sons of Nabis as part of an alliance.¹¹⁶ By this date a daughter born soon after Perseus would have been of nicely marriageable age. These matches appear not to have been realised either. At some point after Perseus' accession in 179, and before 172, he gave a sister Apama to Prusias II of Bithynia, who may or may not have been one of the sisters so far mentioned.¹¹⁷ The same may be said for the sister given by Perseus at some point during his reign to the Thracian Teres.¹¹⁸

The family of Perseus

<i>Bastarnian?</i>	<i>Laodice vii</i>	<i>Callippa</i>	<i>Adopted</i>
	Alexander	Andriscus?	'Real' Philip
	Daughter		

Since the Romans brought the Antigonid dynasty—at least temporarily—to an end during the reign of Perseus when his children were still small, there is little point in pursuing the details of the structure of his family in its own right. However, the obscure case of the 'real' Philip may have further bearing on the distinctive Antigonid code of loyalty, and consideration of it will help prepare the ground for treatment of the Andriscus problem.

When Perseus (ruled 179–168) ascended the throne he already had a wife, of whom we know little. Livy says of her, 'The gossip (*fama*) was that after his father's death Perseus killed her with his own hand.'¹¹⁹ We may, I presume, take Livy's phraseology to indicate that Perseus did not kill her, but that she did die at that time. We are given no clue as to the identity of this wife. The best identifiable context for the marriage is the visit to Philip V of some Bastarnian Thracian envoys in 182, one of whom offered a sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. Philip accepted the offer, but Livy portrays Perseus objecting to the need for such a marriage alliance. Perseus' disgruntlement is most easily understood if he was to be the unfortunate groom, and it well motivates Livy's subsequent slur that he may have killed his wife with his own hand.¹²⁰ No children can be identified as stemming from this union.

In 177 Perseus married Laodice vii, daughter of Seleucus IV. The identity of the bride ensured that this should be a grand and

privileged union, and it was celebrated with appropriate pomp: she was escorted from Syria by the Rhodians, who were currying favour with both kings, in five ships built from Macedonian wood. Perseus gave every member of the crews a golden strigil.¹²¹ In the year of her marriage Laodice was honoured in a Delian inscription as the daughter of Seleucus and the husband of Perseus.¹²² By Laodice Perseus sired his only certain blood son, Alexander, and a daughter, who walked with their father in the Roman triumph; Laodice herself had apparently escaped.¹²³

Perseus also had a concubine (*pallakis*), Callippa, according to Diodorus, who later took up with Athenaeus of Pergamum, and gave succour to Andriscus.¹²⁴ No children of hers are known. We shall discuss below the remote possibility that she was the mother of Andriscus.

It is possible that Philip V had a third son in addition to Perseus and Demetrius, also called Philip, who was subsequently adopted by Perseus. Much hinges on a corrupt passage of Livy, referring to the year 171, which reads as follows in Briscoe's (1986 Teubner) text:

ipse constitit in tribunali circa se habens filios duos, + cuius vel quorum
pars + Philippus natura frater, adoptione filius, minor, quem Alexand-
rum vocabant, naturalis erat. Livy 42.53¹²⁵

This text may be translated, in a fashion that glosses over the difficulties of the corrupt portion without, I trust, perverting the evidence relevant to the matter in hand, as follows:

He himself [Perseus] stood on the platform between his two sons, of whom the elder, Philip, was actually his brother by birth, but his son by adoption, whereas the younger boy, whom they called Alexander, was his blood son.

Livy elsewhere and Zonaras refer to Philip as Perseus' son without further qualification,¹²⁶ and Philip officially referred to himself as such, to judge from a dedication the two boys made to Sarapis and Isis in honour of their 'father' in Thessaly: 'Philip and Alexander...their father Perseus...to Sarapis and Isis'.¹²⁷ There seems no good reason for doubting the truth of Livy's claim.

Polybius tells that this Philip, the 'real' Philip (as opposed to the subsequent 'Pseudo-Philip'), died at the age of 18, approximately two years after Perseus.¹²⁸ Perseus died either in 165 or 162, and Philip was therefore born either around 181 or around 178. Plutarch tells that when the Romans led Perseus and his children in triumph in 171, the children were too young to know what was happening,¹²⁹ which

perhaps argues that Philip was born closer to 178 than to 181. Since Philip V died in 179, 'real' Philip must have been very late-born or even posthumous. It makes sense that Perseus, as a loyal Antigonid king, should have adopted such a small child (shades here too of the tales relating to the early years of Demetrius I). It is highly unlikely that 'real' Philip was Perseus' full brother: if he was, then Polycrateia would need to have enjoyed a period of fertility in excess of 31 years: Perseus himself was born to her second husband in 212. The child, although therefore almost certainly amphimetric to Perseus, would have been considered too young to constitute any immediate threat. But, as we have seen, the rotten apple of Demetrius aside, amphimetricism had not been a problem for the Antigonids hitherto. The fascinating question as to whether 'real' Philip would have been permitted to succeed as Perseus' heir in preference to Alexander must forever remain unanswered, but the actions of Doson show that such a thing would not have been unthinkable in the Antigonid dynasty.

If 'real' Philip was after all a blood son of Perseus, then he will have to be ascribed to the 'Bastarnian' or some other unknown wife, given that Laodice was taken on only after the latest possible date for his birth. Livy's confusion about him being a blood son of Philip V might then be explained with reference to the general confusion about Andriscus, the 'Pseudo-Philip', both as to who he was and as to who he claimed to be.

Andriscus, the 'Pseudo-Philip'

Andriscus (ruled 149–8), who briefly revived the Antigonid cause after the destruction of the dynasty, is usually categorised as a 'pretender'. But in a study such as ours, of which the design is to investigate all slurs against the origins of princes discursively where possible, the simple assumption that he was indeed an impostor would be improper.

According to Livy, who gives the most detailed account of the claims made by Andriscus, he claimed to be born 'from a concubine (*ex paelice*) and king Perseus'.¹³⁰ Perseus, fearing that his family would be extirpated in the Third Macedonian War, which was currently being waged, sent the boy to be reared in Adramyttium (in north-west Asia Minor) by a Cretan mercenary, 'so that some as it were seed of royal stock should continue to exist'. The boy, like Romulus and Remus and so many other heroes of legend, was initially ignorant of his own royal birth. It need hardly be said that this smacks of being a fantastic and semi-mythologised tale developed by a pretender who was indeed the son of a Cretan mercenary. However, we do learn from Diodorus that

Cretan mercenaries accompanied Perseus on his final flight.¹³¹ Wilcken emended Livy's description of Andriscus' claim about his origins to *ex Laodice*, and so made Andriscus claim to be the legitimate son of Perseus and his royal wife. But there is no difficulty with the manuscripts, and Livy's subsequent expression of Perseus' purpose in sending Andriscus into hiding requires that the boy be considered a rather minor part of his family rather than a full-blown prince. A number of other sources also have Andriscus claim to be the son of Perseus: Diodorus (at one point), Porphyry and Pausanias, the last of whom does not imply that the claim was tendentious.¹³²

Polybius, however, has a rather different and very clear tale to tell about Andriscus' claims and their truthfulness:

Concerning the Pseudophilip, the tale initially appeared insupportable. Here was some Philip who had fallen to Macedon out of the air, who held not only the Macedonians but also the Romans in contempt. He was not able to give any good account of his motivation for his enterprise, since the genuine Philip was known to have died at around 18 years of age at Alba in Italy, two years after Perseus himself. But after three or four months it was reported that he had conquered the Macedonians in a battle on the far side of the Strymon in the Odomantic land, and some began to accept his story, although most completely disbelieved it.

Polybius 36.10.1–4

We should bear it in mind that a claim to be the 'real' Philip was also a claim to be an adopted son of Perseus. Diodorus (at another point) and Florus agree that it was the 'real' Philip that Andriscus pretended to be (the latter noting that Andriscus was inspired by his resemblance to Philip the son of Perseus),¹³³ and such a claim is indeed implicit in Andriscus' epithet, 'Pseudophilippos'.¹³⁴

But if this was indeed who Andriscus claimed to be, then, the difficulties raised by Polybius aside, he could not have had the career that Livy tells us he claimed: the 'real' Philip was at least 7 by the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War in 171, and could not therefore have been sent away in ignorance of his own origins during the course of it. Furthermore, Diodorus describes Andriscus as a *neaniskos* when deported to Rome in 153, which seems to denote a man younger than one of 25, which would have been the lowest possible age of the 'real' Philip at that time.¹³⁵

Other claims ascribed to Andriscus probably derive from a contamination of these two tales. Zonaras says that Andriscus was inspired to act by his resemblance not to the 'real' Philip but to Perseus himself.¹³⁶ The Oxyrhynchus summary of Livy's *Book* 49 and Ampelius say that

Andriscus claimed to be a son not of Perseus but of Philip—presumably of Philip V, rather than of ‘real’ Philip.¹³⁷ Ampelius adds that he was inspired by his physical resemblance to Philip. Of course such a claim would be compatible with a claim to be the ‘real’ Philip, since he was apparently a blood son of Philip V’s.¹³⁸ But the Oxyrhynchus summary may be held suspect because it contradicts the more detailed *Epitome* of the same book: perhaps the Oxyrhynchus summariser has been misled by the epithet ‘Pseudophilippos’, and the same may be true of Ampelius.

The sources that claim to know that Andriscus was indeed an impostor explain his true origins via a cynical reading of the tale recounted by Livy, or one like it: Lucian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Livy, Zonaras, Tacitus, Florus and Diodorus variously claim that he was the son of a mercenary or a fuller, was of low or slave origin, and was reared from birth in Adramyttium.¹³⁹

There is little point in attempting to impose order upon this morass of myth and counter-myth.¹⁴⁰ Let us confine ourselves to asking whether Andriscus could possibly have had a case.¹⁴¹ He cannot, as we have seen, have been the ‘real’ Philip both because of the objections of Polybius and because the ages do not agree. It remains theoretically possible that he was Perseus’ son by a concubine. The strongest indication in Andriscus’ favour is the support that he received from Perseus’ former concubine Callippa, now wife of Athenaeus of Pergamum:

King Demetrius [I of Syria] sent to Rome some young man, by the name of Andriscus, claiming that he was the son of Perseus... When he had obtained his release he strove to make his play-acting real. He deceived many by ever elaborating more splendidly on his good royal birth, including the Macedonians themselves. He had a harpist, one Nicolaus, as his partner, who was Macedonian-born, and he learned from him that a woman by the name of Callippa, who had been the concubine (*pallakis*) of King Perseus, was now married to Athenaeus of Pergamum. So he crossed over to her and developed a tragic show out of his relationship to Perseus, and was supplied by her with money for his journey, royal dress, a diadem and two slaves of the sort he needed. And he was told by her that Teres, a king of the Thracians, had a daughter of the Philip who had been king to wife... Teres honoured him and gave him a hundred soldiers and put a diadem round his head. Through his agency Andriscus was introduced to other dynasts, and from them he got another hundred troops. He then journeyed to the Thracian king Barsabas and persuaded him to participate in the campaign and to restore him to Macedon, as he was now laying claim to the Macedonian throne on the ground that it was his paternal right. Defeated by Macedonicus the Pseudophilip fled to Thrace...

Diodorus 32.15

Pergamum was inimical to Macedon, and one would not therefore expect the wife of a Pergamene prince to be helpful to an Antigonid, true or false, except in special circumstances: perhaps the notion that Callippa was herself the concubine of Perseus from whom Andriscus claimed descent lurks behind Diodorus' hostile narrative. At any rate, she was surely in a good position to judge the merits of his claims, as was the wife of Teres. And if Andriscus was indeed the son of a *hetaira* of Perseus, then after the careers of Lamia and Phila, Demo and Halcystone and Chryseis and Philip V, he had good title to the Antigonid throne.

Notes

¹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 3; cf. also 50–1 and 53, and Diodorus 21.20; see Tarn 1913, 18, Macurdy 1932, 61 and 68–9 and Billows 1990, 368.

² Plutarch *Demetrius* 51.

³ Plutarch *Moralia* 250f–253a and 486a; cf. Billows 1990, 368 and 396.

⁴ Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43; cf. Diodorus 21.1; see Briant 1973, 17–25 and Billows 1990, 15.

⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 2 and 25; cf. Edson 1934, 216–26 and Green 1990, 31 for the claim. So far as known history is concerned, the Antigonids were to develop a marriage tie to the Antipatrids (Demetrius I marrying Phila, daughter of Antipater), while the Antipatrids in turn had had a marriage tie to the Argeads (Cassander, brother of Phila, having been married to Thessalonice). Demetrius was actually proclaimed king of *Macedon* in 294: see Seibert 1967, 29 and Billows 1990, 29.

⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 52; cf. Billows 1990, 9 and 29 n. 43.

⁷ Herodotus 6.61–9.

⁸ Lucian *Macrobioi* 11 (quoting Hieronymus of Cardia *FGH* 154 F8); further sources at Billows 1990, 15 n. 1.

⁹ Billows 1990, 9.

¹⁰ Athenaeus 578ab (including Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii p. 168 F4).

¹¹ Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15.

¹² Athenaeus 614f, quoting Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12 (where he is Oxythemidas); cf. Tarn 1913, 248 n. 92, Olshausen 1974 no. 77 and Billows 1990, 9 and 414.

¹³ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27; cf. Athenaeus 578ab.

¹⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 14 and *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony* 4; cf. also Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 10 and Athenaeus 577d; see Tarn 1913, 17–18 and 47 n. 21, Macurdy 1932, 61, Seibert 1967, 29 and 32–3, Wehrli 1968, 141 and Billows 1990, 9; *pace* Beloch 1912–27, iii.1 380 n. 4.

¹⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 14; cf. 17 and 27; see Macurdy 1932, 61 and Wehrli 1968, 140.

¹⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 14; cf. Billows 1990, 71 and 368.

¹⁷ Diodorus 18.18.7; cf. Tarn 1913, 17, Macurdy 1932, 59–61 and 66,

Wehrli 1964, 140–1, Seibert 1967, 27 and Billows 1990, 56 and 71.

¹⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 37.

¹⁹ See Plutarch *Demetrius* 50–2 generally and Diodorus 21.20.1; cf. Tarn 1913, 110–12 and Wehrli 1964, 140–1.

²⁰ The characters in the Villa de Boscoreale fresco are identified thus by Wehrli 1968, 196–204, with reproductions, and Briant 1973, 107–8 n. 12. See also Smith 1988, 10.

²¹ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 333 line 6.

²² Plutarch *Demetrius* 32; cf. Macurdy 1932, 62 and 64 and Wehrli 1964, 141–3 (who, however, argues that Phila lodged with Adeimantus of Lamp-sacus from soon after her marriage until Demetrius took the throne of Macedon in 294).

²³ Cf. Wehrli 1964, 143 and Seibert 1967, 29.

²⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 45; cf. Wehrli 1964, 145.

²⁵ Athenaeus 225c and 254a; cf. Billows 1990, 235.

²⁶ For the marriage to Eurydice see, in addition to the Plutarch passage quoted, Diodorus 20.40.5–6. Habicht 1997, 65 and 78 prefers to think she was called Euthydice.

²⁷ Seibert 1967, 28 and Billows 1990, 151.

²⁸ See Plutarch *Demetrius* 53 (quoted above; cf. 2), with Ziegler's *apparatus criticus*; cf. Briant 1973, 24 and Billows 1990, 17 and n. 5.

²⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 25, 32 and 53 and *Pyrrhus* 4; cf. Tarn 1913, 18, Macurdy 1932, 63, Lévêque 1957, 107 n. 6, Wehrli 1964, 142–4, Seibert 1967, 28–9, 31 n. 20 and 33 and Billows 1990, 172.

³⁰ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 9–10 and Athenaeus 253b (quoting Demochares); cf. Ferguson 1911, 141–5, Tarn 1913, 47–8, Macurdy 1932, 66–7, Lévêque 1957, 139–142, Wehrli 1964, 144–5, Seibert 1967, 30, Garoufalas 1979, 40 and Green 1990, 126.

³¹ Duris *FGH* 76 F13; cf. Lévêque 1957, 141–2.

³² For the polygamy of Pyrrhus see Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 9–10; cf. Tarn 1913, 47, Hammond 1967, 572 and Garoufalas 1979 especially 33–4 and 268–9 n. 51 (cf. also 26, 65, 39–40, 102). His wives were, in order of marriage: Antigone, daughter of Berenice I of Egypt by her first husband, Philip; Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse; a daughter of Autoleon; Birkenna, daughter of Bardylis the Illyrian.

³³ Plutarch *Demetrius* 32 and 46; cf. Macurdy 1932, 64–8, Manni 1951, 46, Wehrli 1964, 144–5 and 1968, 190 and Seibert 1967, 30–2.

³⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 53.

³⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 53.

³⁶ Bouché-Leclercq 1913–14, 639 and index s.v. *Demetrius Leptos*.

³⁷ See Part II for full references.

³⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24.

³⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 10, 16 and 23–7; see Part II for further sources.

⁴⁰ Athenaeus 577c.

⁴¹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16.

⁴² Athenaeus 253ab (including Demochares *FGH* 75 F2 and Polemon F13 Preller).

⁴³ Geyer 1925a, 546.

⁴⁴ Athenaeus 577c. The view of Geyer 1925a, 547 that we should ascribe to her Adeimantus of Lampsacus' temple on the basis of an arbitrary emendation of the corrupt Athenaeus 255c ('after Phila the *mother* of Demetrius') is not persuasive; cf. Robert 1946, 18 and Wehrli 1964, 142.

⁴⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.

⁴⁶ Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15. Although, according to Draco's homicide law (Demosthenes 23.53), one could commit 'adultery' (*moicheia*) by sleeping with another man's concubine, as well as his wife, the use of the word *gynē* here does seem to invite the translation 'wife' rather than merely 'woman'.

⁴⁷ Athenaeus 578ab (including Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii p. 168 F4).

⁴⁸ Athenaeus 593a (including Nicolaus of Damascus *FHG* 90 F90).

⁴⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 53, with many more details.

⁵⁰ *Lives of Aratus* at Westermann 1964 pp. 53 and 60; cf. Justin 25.1.1 and Memnon *FHG* 434 F10; see Tarn 1913, 173–4, 227, 247–8, Macurdy 1932, 69–70 and Seibert 1967, 33–4.

⁵¹ *Lives of Aratus* at Westermann 1964 pp. 53, 55, 58, 61 and especially 60; cf. Tarn 1913, 173–4 and Green 1990, 141.

⁵² See the inscription at Robert 1951 no. 136, from Beroia; the association is confirmed by Justin's reference to Demetrius as *regem Macedoniae Demetrium* during his father's lifetime; cf. Tarn 1913, 383 n. 39, Will 1979–82, i 347 and Hammond and Walbank 1989, 317.

⁵³ Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FHG* 161 F4); see Tarn 1913, 247–8 n. 92 and above on Antigonus I and Part II for the confusions relating to Demo.

⁵⁴ See Tarn 1913, 248, Macurdy 1932, 70 and Dow and Edson 1937, 162 for Halyconeus as a crown prince.

⁵⁵ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 34; cf. Tarn 1913, 273–4.

⁵⁶ Arnim 1923–38 (SVF) i p. 441; cf. Tarn 1913, 232.

⁵⁷ Tarn 1913, 301.

⁵⁸ Livy 31.28.

⁵⁹ Diogenes Laertius 4.41–2; cf. Tarn 1913, 335–6 and Ferguson 1911, 233.

⁶⁰ For the possibility that Demetrius II of Macedon was never actually known in antiquity as 'Aetolicus' see Ehrhardt 1978, with some interesting observations on Antigonid nicknames in general.

⁶¹ In addition to the Justin passage quoted, see Porphyry *FHG* 260 F32.6 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 249 Schöne and Josephus *Against Apion* i 22 (including Agatharchides of Cnidus *FHG* 86 F20); cf. Tarn 1913, 348, Fraser and Roberts 1949, Seibert 1967, 34–6 and Will 1979–82, i 238–9. But Ferguson 1911, 199 believes that Stratonice was repudiated by Demetrius (the monogamy fallacy again).

⁶² See Tarn 1913, 369 n. 4.

⁶³ Tarn's objections at 1913, 369 n. 4 that Justin is chronologically confused about the reign of Demetrius II, are no longer valid now that an inscription has confirmed that he was associated on the throne prior to his father's death (see above).

⁶⁴ See the inscription published at Wilhelm 1908 and cf. especially p. 75;

cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 137; see below on Philip V.

⁶⁵ Tarn 1913, 383, Seibert 1967, 38 and Will 1979–82, i 344 and 348.

⁶⁶ Plutarch *Aratus* 17 and Polyaeus 4.6; cf. Tarn 1913, 369–73 (despite his misconceptions about dating and monogamy), Seibert 1967, 36–7 and Will 1979–82, i 324.

⁶⁷ The best discussion of Phthia and Chryseis, and of the question as to whether the two should be identified, is that of Dow and Edson 1937; cf. also Seibert 1967, 38–9, Will 1979–82, i 360 and le Bohec 1981, 35–6 and 1993a, 143–9; *pace* Tarn 1924 and 1940, Fine 1934, Walbank 1940, 9, Hammond 1967, 601 and Green 1990, 252 and 795 n. 26, all of whom believe that Phthia was the mother of Philip V.

⁶⁸ Tarn 1940, 491 (referring back to Tarn 1909, 265–6) and le Bohec 1981, 39–40 and 44 bizarrely contend that Justin identifies Philip V's mother, and that he identifies her as Phthia. It is argued that Justin picks up his reference to Phthia (28.1.1–4, quoted in text) with his reference, an entire two chapters later, to the 'mother' (*matre*) of Philip V as a soubriquet (28.3.9). It is further argued that the 'mother' must refer to Phthia on the supposition that 'Trogus' (but this is Justin!) always introduces new 'kings' (but this is a 'queen'—at best), and that the mother of Philip otherwise goes un-introduced.

⁶⁹ So too Syncellus 535.19 Dindorf and *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Dōsōn*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Dow and Edson 1937, 150–2 and 161 and le Bohec 1981, 36–9 and 1993a, 37 and 147.

⁷¹ At Homer *Iliad* 1.113–5 Agamemnon contrasts his war-captive concubine Chryseis with a wedded wife; cf. Dow and Edson 1937, 154–6; see also Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 138, Tarn 1940, 494–8 and Seibert 1967, 38–9.

⁷² Cf. Dow and Edson 1937, 153–4 for parallels, and see also Part II.

⁷³ Polybius 4.5.3, with Walbank 1957–79 ad loc.; cf. Will 1979–82, i 360 and le Bohec 1981, 42.

⁷⁴ Polybius 4.2.5, with Walbank 1957–79 ad loc.; cf. Tarn 1924, 21.

⁷⁵ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 485 lines 9–11 and 35–7.

⁷⁶ *IG* ii2 790 lines 16–17.

⁷⁷ See Tarn 1924, 20, Dow and Edson 1937, 127–149, Seibert 1967, 37–8 and le Bohec 1981, 41–3; *pace* Holleaux 1920, 5–7, Tarn 1940, 483–4 and Bengtson 1969, 407 n. 2.

⁷⁸ Dow and Edson 1937, 148–9; *pace* Tarn 1940, 484–92, who despite himself produces parallels for such a usage. His evidence does not support his arbitrary contention that one may give to, but not pray to, those who do not yet exist.

⁷⁹ Cf. Will 1979–82, i 360 and le Bohec 1981, 40–1.

⁸⁰ Polybius 2.70–71 makes him 17 on his accession in 221; cf. le Bohec 1993a, 102.

⁸¹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F31.6 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 243 Schöne; cf. Wace and Tillyard 1904–5, 113, Tarn 1913, 475 and le Bohec 1993a, 65–8 and 81–2 for further evidence and discussion. Le Bohec 1993a, 141 discusses his selection.

⁸² Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8, Justin 28.3.9–16, Pausanias 7.7.4 and Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13–14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne; cf. Macurdy 1932, 72, Tarn 1940, 493, Aymard 1952, 90–2, Seibert 1967, 39, Hammond

and Walbank 1989, 338 and le Bohec 1993a, 113–41 and 143–9.

⁸³ See le Bohec 1993a, 126–33.

⁸⁴ The complexities of the debate over the identity of the mother of Philip V have led le Bohec 1993a, 126–33, who believes that his mother was Phthia, to argue that Doson married both Chryseis and Phthia, since he is explicitly said by different sources to have married both ‘Chryseis’ and ‘the mother of his ward’. While such a situation of polygamy would have been quite acceptable in the Antigonid court, the hypothesis itself is based upon a tendentious reading of the evidence.

⁸⁵ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 238; cf. Tarn 1924, 23, Macurdy 1932, 72, Dow and Edson 1937, 157–8, Seibert 1967, 39 and Hammond and Walbank 1989, 338.

⁸⁶ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.3; the nominative form is also found at *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Dōsōn*. Cf. Green 1990, 255 and le Bohec 1993a, 468–9; *pace* Tarn 1924, 222 and Will 1979–82, i 360.

⁸⁷ Plutarch *Coriolanus* 11.3.

⁸⁸ Pausanias 6.16.3; cf. Aymard 1952, 91 and Walbank 1940, 19 n. 1.

⁸⁹ As noted by Plutarch *Demetrius* 3; cf. Edson 1935, 191 and Green 1990, 425.

⁹⁰ Plutarch *Aratus* 49.2 and 51.2 and *Cleomenes* 16.5, Livy 27.31.3 (supplying the name Polycrateia), 32.21 and 32.24 and Aelian *Varia historia* 12.42; cf. Beloch 1901 and 1912–27, iv.2 139–40, Meloni 1953, 13–14 and Seibert 1967, 39.

⁹¹ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.7; the allegation that Perseus was supposititious is referred to also at Livy 40.9.2; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 139–40, Macurdy 1932, 72 and Meloni 1953, 12.

⁹² Meloni 1953, 13–14.

⁹³ Livy 27.31.3; cf. Beloch 1901 and 1912–27, iv.2 139–40, Macurdy 1932, 72 and Meloni 1953, 9.

⁹⁴ Livy 39.53.

⁹⁵ Livy 32.21.

⁹⁶ Livy 40.6.4 and Eutropius 4.8.2; cf. Walbank 1940, 78.

⁹⁷ Cf. Seibert 1967, 39.

⁹⁸ Moretti 1967–75 no. 102.

⁹⁹ Cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 139–41 and Macurdy 1932, 72–3.

¹⁰⁰ Livy 40.6.4; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 139–41 and Edson 1935, 191.

¹⁰¹ *Pace* Breccia 1903, 62 n. 1, Beloch 1901 and Meloni 1953, 15.

¹⁰² Cahin 1981– no. 3 lines 9–10; cf. Dow and Edson 1937, 130.

¹⁰³ Polybius 18.39.5, 21.2.3 and 23.1–2, Livy 33.12.14, 36.35.13 and 39.47, Plutarch *Flaminius* 9 and Appian *Macedonian Wars* 9.5 and *Syrian Wars* 20; cf. Edson 1935, 191–2, Walbank 1940, 176, 208 and 238, Meloni 1953, 30, Will 1979–82, ii 251–2, Adams 1982, 242 and Green 1990, 42.

¹⁰⁴ For the early stages of the quarrel between Perseus and Demetrius see Polybius 23.1–3 and 23.7, Livy 39.47.5–11 and 39.53.5–12; cf. Edson 1935, 192–5, Walbank 1940, 238–42, Meloni 1953, 30–3, Gruen 1974, 231–6, Will 1979–82, ii 253–4, Adams 1982, 242–3, Dell 1983, 60 and Green 1990, 425–6.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Walbank 1940, 241, Meloni 1953, 10–12 and 15, Will 1979–82, ii 255 and Adams 1982, 243

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Meloni 1953, 11.

¹⁰⁷ Livy 40.5–8 and 40.16; cf. Polybius 23.11; see Edson 1935, 195–6, Walbank 1940, 246–7, Meloni 1953, 9 and Adams 1982, 243–4.

¹⁰⁸ Livy 40.5–16, 40.20–4 and 40.54–7, Polybius 23.10–11, Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.6–7, *Aratus* 54.7 and *Demetrius* 3, Diodorus 29.25 and Justin 32.2–3 and Zonaras 9.22.

¹⁰⁹ Livy 40.54–7; cf. Edson 1935, 199–201, Walbank 1940, 252–5, Meloni 1953, 56–60, Will 1979–82, ii 254 and Hammond and Walbank 1989, 472 n. 2.

¹¹⁰ Edson 1935, 196–8 and 201.

¹¹¹ Hammond and Walbank 1989, 472 n. 2.

¹¹² Gruen 1974, 242–4 (highly implausible), Dell 1983, 70–1 and Green 1990, 425–6.

¹¹³ Adams 1982, 244 (cf. Livy 40.26.3). For further views see Walbank 1940, 250–2, Meloni 1953, 50–5, Briscoe 1972, 25–6 and Will 1979–82, ii 254.

¹¹⁴ Dell 1983.

¹¹⁵ Polybius 25.13–15; cf. Walbank 1940, 112 and Seibert 1967, 40.

¹¹⁶ Livy 32.38.1–3; cf. Justin 30.4.5 and Zonaras 9.16; see Walbank 1940, 163 and Seibert 1967, 41–2.

¹¹⁷ Livy 42.12.3–5 and 42.29.3 and Appian *Macedonian Wars* 11.2; cf. Macurdy 1932, 71 and 73–4 and Seibert 1967, 43–4.

¹¹⁸ Diodorus 32.15.5 and Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 23; cf. Macurdy 1932, 74, Seibert 1967, 44 and Bengtson 1969, 490.

¹¹⁹ Livy 42.4–5.

¹²⁰ Livy 40.5; cf. Macurdy 1932, 3, Walbank 1940, 246 with n. 4 and 248, Meloni 1953, 38–9 and 79 and Seibert 1967, 42.

¹²¹ Polybius 25.4.8–10, Livy 42.12.3–4 and Appian *Macedonian Wars* 11.2; cf. Macurdy 1932, 73–4, Meloni 1953, 122–5, Schmitt 1957, 134–7, Seibert 1967, 43 and Habicht 1989, 339.

¹²² Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 639.

¹²³ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 33, Diodorus 31.8.11 and Zonaras 9.24.6.

¹²⁴ Diodorus 32.15.

¹²⁵ Briscoe's text follows MS V. Most editors read the sensible *quorum maior* between the crosses, and the assumption that something to this effect stood between them underpins the translation given here.

¹²⁶ Livy 45.28.11 and Zonaras 9.24.6; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 141–2, Walbank 1940: 246 n. 4 and Bengtson 1969, 539, *pace* Dell 1983, 202.

¹²⁷ *IG* x.2 1; cf. Edson *ad loc.* and Walbank 1957–79 on 36.10.3.

¹²⁸ Polybius 36.10.3.

¹²⁹ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 37.

¹³⁰ Livy *Epitome* 49.

¹³¹ Diodorus 31.21.1; cf. Cardinali 1911, 11 n. 2.

¹³² Diodorus 32.15, Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.19 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 239–40 Schöne and Pausanias 7.13.1.

¹³³ Diodorus 31.40a and Florus 1.30.

¹³⁴ Cf. Cardinali 1911, 13.

¹³⁵ Diodorus 32.15.

¹³⁶ Zonaras 9.28.

¹³⁷ *Oxyrhynchus summary of Livy* 49 and Ampelius *Liber memorialis* 16.5.

¹³⁸ This is quite a contradiction of Zonaras, for, as we have seen, coin portraits indicate that Philip V and Perseus did not resemble each other much.

¹³⁹ Lucian *Pros ton apaideuton* 20, Ammianus Marcellinus 14.11.31 and 26.6.20, Livy *Epitome* 49, Zonaras 9.28, Tacitus *Annals* 12.62, Florus 1.30 and Diodorus 31.40a. Green 1990, 447 misleadingly claims that Andriscus claimed to be 'Philip, Perseus' son by Laodice'.

¹⁴⁰ Cardinali 1911 attempts to impose order upon it, but he swallows whole-sale the anti-Andriscan propaganda when he makes Andriscus' *fabrication* of his own origin narratives a pivotal part of his reconstruction.

¹⁴¹ De Sanctis 1907–68, iv.3 121 n. 112 thought he did.

Chapter 7

THE ATTALIDS

Attalid legitimacy-history is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, it produced in the image developed for Apollonis the clearest case of a hellenistic dynasty appealing to common Greek legitimacy culture in order to justify succession. Secondly, after developing a culture of bourgeois-style monogamy, the dynasty was undone by a struggle between two men who were probably amphimetric half-brothers. Complex traditions of bastardy accordingly attach to both of them, and these will be again analysed discursively. All this came in the context of strange reproductive behaviour. Only one actual Attalid king can definitely be said to have had any children at all, Attalus I, and no member of the dynasty is recorded as having had any female children: in other words, there are no Attalid princesses. Behind these two exceptional phenomena may lurk an explanation yet to be found.

Philetaerus

A tradition of bastardy attached to Philetaerus (ruled 283–263; *Fig. 10*) as it did to other founders of hellenistic kingdoms. His father was Attalus, apparently a Macedonian,¹ and his mother was Boa, as dedications by Philetaerus confirm. He was born at Tieum, between Bithynia



Fig. 10. Philetaerus.
Silver tetradrachm.
British Museum
BMC 31 PCG V A4 obv.
© British Museum.

and Paphlagonia. Athenaeus tells that Boa was a Paphlagonian flute-girl *hetaira*.² It is possible that a fragment of the inscribed Pergamene Chronicle also made Philetaerus' mother Paphlagonian.³ Pausanias refers to Philetaerus accordingly as a 'Paphlagonian eunuch'.⁴

The founder of the dynasty left no children behind him. Strabo had an explanation which fills out Pausanias' description:

Pergamum was the treasury of Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles, one of the Successors to Alexander, and it consists of a settlement upon the very top of the mountain. The mountain is cone-shaped and tapers to a sharp point. Philetaerus was entrusted with the guarding of this fort and its money (there were 9,000 talents). He came from Tieum, and he was a eunuch from his boyhood. For it happened that a great crowd had gathered to watch at some funeral, and the nurse who was carrying the infant was caught back in the crowd and was crushed so hard that the child was disabled. But although he was a eunuch, he was reared in a decent fashion and appeared worthy of being entrusted with the citadel.

Strabo C623

What are we to make of this tale? Phylarchus and Plutarch tell that Demetrius Poliorcetes abused Lysimachus as a mere 'treasurer' (*gazophylax*), a term which angered Lysimachus because eunuchs were particularly associated with such a role (being considered exceptionally loyal and reliable).⁵ This already gives us two ways to read the Philetaerus tale. First we can take it as a relic of comparable abuse of Philetaerus by his enemies and rivals: he was treasurer, so he was eunuch, an allegation to which his unmarried and childless state lent credibility. Secondly we can use it as an indication that Philetaerus may indeed have been a eunuch; this was why he was given the job of treasurer in the first place.⁶ It could, furthermore, be argued that the tenor of this tale is more apologetic than hostile, and that the tale looks like an attempt to rehabilitate one who was indeed a eunuch, the implicit argument being that he was one only by accident rather than by design, an argument which importantly dissociates him from humiliating castration by some savage oriental despot for sexual purposes. If he was indeed a eunuch, then marriage and children would hardly have been an option for him. Philetaerus' eunuchism might well account for the prominence of the eunuchs' chief goddess, Cybele, at Pergamum under Philetaerus and his successors. Philetaerus himself dedicated a temple to Cybele at Pergamum, the 'Megalesium', where dedications to, and statuettes of, Attis have been found, as well as one to Demeter (in honour of his mother Boa) and one to 'the Mother of the Gods' at Mamurt-Kaleh.⁷ A third way of

reading the tale would be again to associate it with the problematised-origin tales that are found in the case of the other Successors.

Philetaerus ensured his succession by adopting the children of his younger brothers, of whom Eumenes was the elder and Attalus the younger. He first adopted the son of Attalus, who was also called Attalus. But this boy predeceased Philetaerus, who then adopted the son of Eumenes, also called Eumenes, who duly acceded as Eumenes I (ruled 263–241). Eumenes I died childless and was succeeded by the son of the Attalus whom Philetaerus had formerly adopted, another Attalus again, who succeeded as Attalus I.⁸

The family of Attalus I

Apollonis
Eumenes II
Attalus II
Philetaerus
Athenaeus

Attalus I (ruled 241–197) took on bourgeois marriage with Apollonis of Cyzicus shortly before 220,⁹ the approximate date of the birth of their second son, Attalus II (who died in 138 at 82).¹⁰ He was preceded by the elder Eumenes II and followed by the younger Philetaerus and Athenaeus. Much propagandist praise of Apollonis survives, albeit from the period of the reigns of her sons Eumenes II and Attalus II, rather than from the reign of her husband Attalus I.¹¹ In celebrating their mother as an ideal bourgeois wife, her sons were celebrating their own legitimacy, and doing so in a bourgeois rather than a dynastic language, a language that celebrated the chastity and modesty of wives.¹² Apollonis died *c.* 184. Her sons subsequently had the following consolation decree set up in her honour at Hierapolis in the period 167–159:

The following was resolved by the generals Apollonius the son of Matron, Apollonius the son of Hermogenes and Apollonides the son of Phalangites. Queen (*basilissa*) Apollonis Eusebes, the wife of the divine king Attalus [I], and the mother of king Eumenes [II] Soter, has crossed to the realm of the gods. She had made a glorious and appropriate demonstration among men of her personal merit by her pious treatment of the gods and respectful treatment of her parents. She shared her life with her husband in a similarly splendid way. She lived in complete harmony with her children. Having produced beautiful and legitimate children (*gnēsiōs kalliteknēsasa*) she left behind her great praises, to her glory, and she received manifest gratitude from her children. Everything that she did in her life contributed to her honour and glory, and she conducted her life

appropriately. She reared her children with the favour of fortune and associated legitimately (*gnēsios*) with king Eumenes [II] Soter and Attalus [II] Philadelphus and Philetaerus and Athenaeus. She left behind her no small proof of her piety towards the gods, by doing something very beautiful. She also left behind her the most beautiful proof of her personal nobility in the harmonious relationship she enjoyed with her children. She showed kindness to queen (*basilissē*) Stratonice, the wife of king Eumenes [II] Soter, in all her dealings with her, in the belief that the woman who had come to share her son with her should also share in her love. Therefore...she has acquired undying honour...in the eyes of all the Greeks and above all in those of king Eumenes [II] Soter and her other children... Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 308 = Austin 1981 no. 204¹³

The terms of this or a similar consolation decree for Apollonis are strikingly reflected in the eulogies of her delivered by Polybius, who tells that Eumenes and Attalus affected to be a new Cleobis and Biton, and Plutarch.¹⁴ It is possible that in her apotheosised form she became regarded as an object of the cult of *Mētēr Basileia*, ‘Mother-queen’, at Pergamum. This is the clearest example of a hellenistic dynasty trying to shore up its legitimacy by mimicking common legitimacy culture: bourgeois marriage is used here in a way that goes far beyond Antiochus III’s propagandist marriage to Euboea, daughter of the Chalcidian bourgeois Cleoptolemus (see chapter 5).¹⁵

The family of Eumenes II

Stratonice

Concubine X
Attalus III?

Ephesian concubine
Aristonicus?

Eumenes II (ruled 197–160) made a dynastic match: Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia betrothed to him his daughter Stratonice in 189.¹⁶ It is possible that the actual marriage took place rather later, since Stratonice is said to have given birth many times (*pollōn genomenōn*) after 159 (see below).¹⁷ Eumenes appears to have had no children by her, since Attalus III appears to have been born of a concubine.

Polybius speaks of the advice given to Attalus II not to help the Romans against his brother Eumenes II in 168/7, because he himself was his brother’s only possible heir:

They said that the senate wished to organise a personal empire and kingship for him [Attalus II], because they were estranged from his brother [Eumenes II]. It happened that Attalus became over the moon at this prospect... Eumenes achieved his goal only with difficulty and dissuaded Attalus from his reckless impulse. He made it clear to him that for the time being he shared the kingship with his brother, and differed from him only in that he did not wear the diadem and was not addressed as

king. In other respects, however, he had equal and identical power with Eumenes, and was by common agreement the only available successor to the kingdom in the future (and this hope was not a long way off), since the king was ever anticipating his departure from this life because of his bodily weakness, and since he could not leave his kingdom to someone else even if he wished, because of his childlessness. For the one that subsequently succeeded to the kingdom had not yet been officially proclaimed by him as his biological son [*anadedeigmenos...kata physin huios*].

Polybius 30.1–2

Livy translates this final phrase ‘for he [Eumenes II] had not yet recognised (*agnoverat*) the one who afterwards reigned’.¹⁸ The fact that Polybius feels the need to give this explanation means that Attalus III, who was subsequently considered to be the child of Eumenes II, was already born. The term *anadedeigmenos*, ‘officially proclaimed’, normally takes a complement, and in this case the complement must be the phrase *kata physin huios*, ‘his natural son’. Here the phrase cannot mean specifically ‘bastard’ (i.e. in contrast to *kata nomon*, ‘legitimate’), for that would be nonsense in context. It must rather mean specifically ‘of his own blood’ (i.e. in contrast to *kata thesin*, ‘by adoption’). Therefore, Polybius can be understood to mean that at this point Attalus III had already been born, but that Eumenes did not initially recognise him as being of his own blood, although he was later to do so.¹⁹ Attalus III was therefore initially considered bastard, whether adulterine or concubinal. Polybius elsewhere, speaking of the period 153/2, refers to Attalus III as the son of Eumenes without further qualification.²⁰

At this time (168/7) Attalus III is likely to have been a fairly small child. Strabo tells that he was ‘very much a young child’ (*paidos neou teleōs*) in 159;²¹ Polybius says he was ‘still a child’ (*eti pais*) in 153/2, which fits with his notion that one was still a child (*pais*) at the age of 17, the age of Philip V when Polybius applied this same term to him.²² Eumenes evidently recognised Attalus officially by the late 160s, as a decree from Miletus of the period 163–160 contains a description of Attalus III as Eumenes’ son.²³

However, official inscriptions unanimously proclaim not only that Attalus III was the son of Stratonice, but that there was an exceptionally tender relationship between them. For example:

My mother, having been the most pious of all women and exceptionally loving towards both my father [Eumenes II] and myself [Attalus III].

Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 331 = Welles 1934 no. 67 iv²⁴

Presumably too Attalus’ surname, *Philomētōr*, ‘Mother-loving’, was intended to advertise a special link with Stratonice.²⁵ When she died

Attalus III put on an elaborate show of grief for her, to which Justin devotes some detail (quoted below).²⁶ Strabo too asserted that Attalus III was the son of Eumenes II and Stratonice:

He [Eumenes II] left his kingdom to his son Attalus [III], who was born of (*gegonoti ek*) Stratonice the daughter of Ariarathes [IV] the king of the Cappadocians. He established his brother Attalus [II] as guardian both of his son, since he was still quite young, and of his kingdom. Strabo C624

Koperberg thought that by using the phrase *gegonoti ek* Strabo was consciously participating in a debate about the origins of Attalus III.²⁷

So what was the origin of Attalus III? An interesting contention was made by Köpp under the ‘adulterine’ option. He argued that Attalus III was the son of a brief premature marriage between Attalus II and Stratonice in 172, when Eumenes was injured at Delphi and falsely reported dead in Pergamum.²⁸ Such a theory would nicely explain how Eumenes could initially doubt his own paternity of a son produced by Stratonice, and how he could then relent into acceptance:

[Harpalus] was hostile to Eumenes II before all. He began the war with an attempt to spill his blood. He prevailed upon the Cretan auxiliary captain Evander and three Macedonians who were accustomed to undertaking crimes of this sort to kill the king... They rose from their ambush and rolled two huge rocks down [the mountain at Delphi]. One of them hit the king's head, the other his shoulder. Knocked unconscious, he fell off the path and down the hill. Many rocks were then piled on top of his prostrate form. The rest of the people indeed, even the band of his friends and attendants, fled in all directions after they had seen him falling... On the next day the king, having now recovered his senses, was carried down to his ship by his friends... His friends tended him in such secrecy, letting no-one in to see him, that the rumour that he was dead filtered through to Asia. Attalus [II] too came to believe that he was dead with greater haste than was appropriate to their brotherly harmony. For he held talks both with his brother's wife and with the castellan as if he were already the certain heir to the kingdom. These things subsequently came to Eumenes' notice, and although he had resolved to pretend he knew nothing about them and endure in silence, even so at their first meeting he could not restrain himself from reproaching his brother with the undue haste he had shown in seeking the hand of his wife.

Livy 42.15–16²⁹

Livy, working from Polybius, implies only that Attalus II got as far as courting Stratonice, but Plutarch speaks of actual marriage (*egēme*) and sexual congress (*synēlthen*). This theory might be nicely supported by a piece of evidence somewhat overlooked in this connection: in his *Icaromenippus* Lucian refers, in the context of a series of passing

references to hellenistic dynastic atrocities, to 'the son of Attalus pouring out poison for him'.³⁰ The notorious poisoner of the dynasty was Attalus III, as Justin makes clear (as quoted below).³¹ Lucian thus seems to imply that he believed Attalus III to be the son of Attalus II. Admittedly, this may be the result of the casual assumption that Attalus III was the son of the predecessor he attempted to rid himself of.

However, it is simply not possible that Attalus III should have been sired so early: he could not then be 'still a boy' in 153.³² Also, if Attalus III was believed to be even a possible blood son of Attalus II, then Plutarch's description of the terms under which Eumenes II did eventually bequeath his kingdom to Attalus II is very misleadingly phrased:³³

On dying he [Eumenes II] left him [Attalus II] his wife and kingdom, in return for which Attalus [II] reared no child from among his own, even though many were born. But during his own lifetime he handed over the kingship to the son that had been born to Eumenes [II], when he came of age.
Plutarch *Moralia* 184b

Let us note that if Attalus II did genuinely believe Eumenes II to be dead, it would of course have been quite appropriate for him to marry the former king's widow to legitimate his own position by levirate (in the full sense of the word, since the bride was passed between brothers), according to Argead and general hellenistic custom. Plutarch here accordingly tells us that such a marriage did take place, again after the genuine death of Eumenes. It is just possible that one of the children of Attalus II and Stratonice did after all survive, to become the ancestor of the Stratonice who married Deiotarus (see below).

It is a shame that chronology spoils Köpp's hypothesis, which otherwise has so much to recommend it. Vatin's attempt to save it is unfortunately too speculative: he hypothesises that Stratonice may at a later point have committed discreet infidelity with Attalus II in order to circumvent her husband's infertility, and that she protected the child in the women's apartments until Eumenes decided whether or not to recognise him. Hence Attalus' great mourning for the mother to whom he owed everything.³⁴ Hopp similarly speculates that in his last years Eumenes accepted that he was too ill to sire children (Polybius does, as we saw, speak of his final bodily weakness) and allowed Stratonice to get a child from elsewhere, putting the continuity of the dynasty first.³⁵ The difficulty with this theory is that it assumes a post-168/7 birth for Attalus III. An intriguing but inconclusive indication in favour of Stratonice being the blood mother of Attalus III is constituted by Hansen's observation that Attalus III's coin portraits appear to depict him with an Armenoid (i.e. royal Cappadocian) profile.³⁶

It is easier to suppose that Attalus III was born of a concubine of Eumenes, who was then adopted to Stratonice when Eumenes decided to make him his heir, by 167 (cf. Ptolemy II's posthumous adoption of the children of Arsinoe I to Arsinoe II). Walbank guesses that such an adoption may have included the proviso that Attalus II hold the throne in trust for Attalus III, as Antigonos Doson had done for Philip V. In this case the significance of Attalus III's paradoxical epithet 'Philometor' and his projection of himself as loving Stratonice greatly may have been to forge an artificial relationship with her.³⁷

Why should Eumenes have bothered to create such a public fiction about the parentage of Attalus III? Other dynasties were quite happy to be publicly polygamous, and the Antigonids had been quite happy to promote openly the sons of *hetairai*. Presumably it was in an attempt to maintain the image of the tight, loving, bourgeois, monogamous family that the dynasty had installed at the heart of its propaganda. All it took to compromise such propaganda was a husband-and-wife pair of incompatible fertility profiles. It should not be forgotten that the 'Philometor' epithet fits well into the tradition of public maternal respect that Eumenes II and Attalus II had themselves established, vis-à-vis their own mother Apollonis.

A curiosity concerning such an adoption, if it took place, is that it attempted to weld together two individuals in an amphimetric relationship with each other—an action that might seem to invite tragedy. But perhaps the danger was less, so long as Stratonice had no children of her own. However, this amphimetric relationship may after all have yielded its predicted fruit: it *may* be implicit in Justin's account of his elaborate show of mourning for Stratonice (protesting too much?), that it was not the friends and relatives he accused, but Attalus III himself who was responsible for her murder.³⁸

In favour of some sort of supposititious origin for Attalus, or at any rate in favour of the possibility that Polybius is alluding to a narrative of such an origin, is the curious fact that it would constitute the middle link in a chain of three supposititious origins in a direct line of 'descent'. Stratonice was herself the 'daughter' of the notorious suppositrix Antiochis I of Cappadocia.³⁹ Later on, in the mid-first century bc the Gaulish king Deiotarus had a wife Stratonice, who is thought to have been a descendant of Attalus II and this Stratonice, since one Gaius Julius Severus claimed in an inscription to be a descendant both of Deiotarus and of 'Attalus, king of Asia'.⁴⁰ This belief of course entails that Attalus II did not after all kill all his children by her. Plutarch tells that this Stratonice was barren, and so chose a concubine for

Deiotarus, by the name of Electra, by whom he could have children that she could pass off as her own.⁴¹

Despite all this, it could well be that the tradition of Attalus III's bastardy was a fiction, as we shall discuss below.

Aristonicus and Attalus III

Aristonicus was also supposed to be a concubinal bastard of Eumenes II. Justin's description of his origin is the most explicit, and occurs within a passage worth quoting at some length:

At the same time as the kingdom of Syria was being constantly switched around between new kings, in Asia king Attalus [III] took over the very flourishing kingdom from his uncle Eumenes [sic], and befouled it with the murders of friends and executions of relatives, pretending that his old mother [Stratonice] and his fiancée Beronice had been killed by their evil-doing. After this wicked and ravening display of violence he put on a rough garment, and let his beard and hair grow long, like a defendant, and did not go out in public, or show himself to the people. He did not enter the more light-hearted parties in his house, or give any indication that he was in good health, just as if he was being punished by the spirits of those he had killed. Neglecting the administration of his kingdom, he dug his garden, he sowed herbs and mixed in poisonous ones among harmless ones, and he used to send all the ones imbued with poisonous sap to his friends as if a special gift for them. After this hobby he passed on to the craft of the bronzesmith, and amused himself with the moulding of wax and the pouring of bronze into the mould and forging. Then he began to make a tomb for his mother, and he was so devoted to this project that he contracted an illness from the heat of the sun and died after seven days. By his will the Roman people was instituted as his heir. But there was a son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, not born of legal marriage, but the son of an Ephesian concubine, the daughter of a certain harpist, and after the death of Attalus he invaded the kingdom of Asia as if it was his by right of birth.
Justin 36.4

For all that Aristonicus is often considered a mere 'pretender' by scholars, and grouped with Alexanders Balas and Zabinas and Andriscus,⁴² a number of sources are confident that he was indeed a son of Eumenes.⁴³ The word of Roman historians, who had every incentive to deny Aristonicus any connection with the Attalid family, should be taken seriously here. Sallust and Livy (in *Epitome*) assert that he was a son of Eumenes;⁴⁴ Orosius that he was a brother (whether half or full is not stated) of Attalus III;⁴⁵ Florus that he was of royal blood;⁴⁶ Eutropius tells that Aristonicus was Eumenes' son by a concubine.⁴⁷ When Plutarch tells that he was a son of a harpist it is not clear whether we are being presented with a curtailed version of the information in

Justin, or the assertion that he was merely the son of a harpist-father (and not of a royal one).⁴⁸ Only one source in fact denies outright Aristonicus' filiation to Eumenes: Velleius Paterculus tells that he lied that he was of royal blood.⁴⁹ Strabo is non-committal in describing Aristonicus as 'seeming to belong to the royal family'.⁵⁰ When Diodorus tells that Aristonicus claimed a kingship that did not belong to him, it is not clear whether he is denying his filiation to Eumenes or merely the right of a bastard to inherit.⁵¹

If we follow the weight of the sources, therefore, we will believe that Aristonicus was Eumenes II's son by an Ephesian concubine. However, it seems that Aristonicus was not born of the same concubine as Attalus III (if the latter was indeed born of a concubine), since Justin and the other sources clearly differentiate between the legitimacy statuses of the two men. Or at any rate, Attalus III, as reared by Stratonice, can be said to have had a different social mother. (McGlew interestingly argues that Aristonicus may have actually sought to portray himself as a bastard in order to appropriate the imagery of a traditional founder.)⁵²

Attalus III may have married. Justin says that Attalus III accused the friends and relatives not only of killing Stratonice but also of killing his fiancée 'Beronicé', i.e., no doubt, Berenice.⁵³ The name Berenice suggests an Egyptian princess. Vitruvius mentions in passing a benefaction done to the city of Smyrna by an Attalus and an Arsinoe.⁵⁴ Might this be a reference to the same woman, with one of the two sources mistaking one of the standard female Ptolemaic names for another? If Attalus and Arsinoe were acting in concert so, it would seem that she was not merely his fiancée but his wife. A marriageable Egyptian princess during the reign of Attalus III would presumably be a daughter of Ptolemy VIII Physcon. A possible Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy VIII, was identified in chapter 4, although that particular Berenice was still alive in 120 to produce a son, Petobastis III. If Attalus III did marry, no children are known.

Childless though Attalus III may have been, he did not die without potential successors, if we are right about the origin of Aristonicus. But he bequeathed Pergamum to Rome instead of to Aristonicus. The bequest is proven genuine by inscriptions⁵⁵ (and Ptolemy VIII Physcon had already made such a bequest, on a provisional basis, to Rome in 155—see chapter 4). But the tradition that the will was a forgery was a well-established ancient one.⁵⁶ Perhaps Aristonicus started it, as Hansen suspects.⁵⁷ Why was such a bequest made? The sudden development of categorical ideas by Attalus III about the

exclusion of those considered bastard seems unlikely, especially since he may have been one himself.

Various positive reasons for the bequest in Rome's favour have been advanced: because Attalus III hated his subjects (Mommsen);⁵⁸ because of the nature of Attalus III's personality and rule (Allen);⁵⁹ because he recognised the practical supremacy of Rome (Mommsen, Cardinali, Hansen);⁶⁰ because he desired to relieve the tension between Roman and Pergamene power, and between hellenised and non-hellenised elements in Asia Minor (Rostovtzeff, Magie, McShane).⁶¹

However, an amphimetric dispute between Attalus III and Aristonicus might provide another explanation for the bequest. It seems very likely that there was already an active dispute between Aristonicus and Attalus III before the latter's death. Although in our literary sources Aristonicus only emerges after the death of Attalus,⁶² numismatic evidence suggests that his career had begun earlier. A series of similar cistophori, of which eighteen examples have been found, was minted in the name of 'King Eumenes' at Thyateira, Apollonis and Stratoniceia, dated with regnal years beta-delta, i.e. 2–4: *Ba[sileus] Eu[menēs] Thya[teira]* 2; *Ba[sileus] Eu[menēs] Apol[lōnis]* 2; *Ba[sileus] Eu[menēs] Apol[lōnis]* 3; and *Ba[sileus] Eu[menēs] Stra[toniceia]* 4.⁶³ The literary accounts show that Aristonicus occupied these places, which were highly suitable as organisational centres for revolt, in succession in the period 133/32–131/30.⁶⁴ It is clear therefore that Aristonicus considered himself to be, and promoted himself as, 'King Eumenes [III]'. Eumenes III's first regnal year was therefore 134/33. A cistophorus from Synnada bears the legend *Ba. Sy. Ar.*, which may be interpreted as the issue of *Ba[sileus] Ar[istonicos]* at *Sy[nnada]*. It is debatable whether this coin should be understood as representing the issue of the first regnal year of 'Eumenes', i.e. 134/33, or the issue of a period preceding it, i.e. 135/34 or before, as Hopp thinks, on the assumption that the first regnal year of 'Eumenes' would have been represented by coins bearing the name 'Eumenes'. The transition from 'Aristonicus' to 'Eumenes' need not witness the development of a false claim by an impostor: it may merely witness the assumption of a more traditional throne-name.⁶⁵

Even on the less adventurous chronology of his reign, Aristonicus/Eumenes swung into action immediately upon the death of Attalus III, and the existence of an organised mini-empire at Synnada prior to his death seems likely. Thus Attalus' kingdom would have been in crisis in its last year. This crisis may perhaps be associated with other manifestations of discontent: as we have seen, Justin tells that Attalus executed

friends and relatives, allegedly for the murder of his mother and fiancée.⁶⁶ If there were plots against Attalus III, then they doubtless sprang from Aristonicus and his followers. As Foucart suggested,⁶⁷ Attalus' famous 'cruelties' (further details of which are added to Justin's by Diodorus and Plutarch)⁶⁸ may well have been in response to an already existing revolt rather than the cause of a new one. Attalus III may then have seen the bequest to Rome as the only way to protect his kingdom from Aristonicus, although as it happened Aristonicus was able to benefit from this scheme because of Rome's initial dilatoriness.⁶⁹

If this reconstruction is right, Aristonicus looks less like a 'pretender' attempting to seize a vacant kingdom than an individual with at least a plausible claim to royal blood and one able to raise a revolt during the reign of Attalus III on the strength of it. The generation of Attalus III and Aristonicus will then have been the first generation of the Attalid family in which there existed amphimetric brothers, and the result will have been a classic amphimetric dispute. Attalus' motives in bequeathing his kingdom to Rome and protecting it from Aristonicus may have had less to do with altruism than amphimetric grudge. The existence of such a dispute may itself account for the traditions of bastardy associated with both parties.

Notes

¹ Dittenberger 1903–5 nos. 748–9.

² Athenaeus 577b (including Carystius of Pergamum *FHG* iv 358 F12) and Strabo C543; cf. Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 207–8, Hansen 1971, 17, Allen 1982, 183–4 and Green 1990, 771, who disbelieves that Philetaerus was son of a *hetaira*.

³ Fränkel and Habicht 1890–1969 no. 613 (= Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 264.

⁴ Pausanias 1.8.1. See also Strabo C543.

⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 25 and Athenaeus 261b (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F31).

⁶ Cf. Hansen 1971, 17.

⁷ See Hansen 1971, 17–18, 26, 51, 127–8, 237–42, 284, 299, 438, 446, 456–7 and Allen 1983, 183 and 200–7.

⁸ See Beloch 1912–27, iv.2 208, Hansen 1971, 21–8 and Allen 1983, 181–6.

⁹ Strabo C624, Polybius 22.20 and Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 308 and no. 311 (= Cahin 1981– no. 248); cf. Hansen 1971, 45.

¹⁰ Lucian *Macrobioi* 12; cf. Hansen 1971, 44–5.

¹¹ Cf. Hopp 1977, 32.

¹² See Vatin 1970, 104, MacShane 1964, 88 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 114.

¹³ Cf. Vatin 1970, 100 and 105–7, Hansen 1971, 44–5, 100, 455–7 and 468,

Hopp 1977, 33 and Pomeroy 1984, 13.

¹⁴ Polybius 22.20.1–8 (cf. Walbank 1957–89 ad loc.) and Plutarch *Moralia* 480c. Other honorific decrees and gestures for Apollonis are to be found at Cahin 1981– nos. 160 and 168–9 (at line 41), Cagnat 1906–27, iii no. 72 and Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Apollōneis*.

¹⁵ Polybius 20.8 etc.

¹⁶ Livy 38.39.6; cf. Polybius 21.41.45. See Günther 1995, 50–1.

¹⁷ See Magie 1950, 770–1 n. 72, Seibert 1967, 113 n. 8, Hansen 1971, 95, Hopp 1977, 27–9 and Allen 1983, 200–6.

¹⁸ Livy 45.19.11.

¹⁹ Cf. Breccia 1903, 54, Cardinali 1906, 134–7, Walbank 1957–89 on 30.2, Vatin 1970, 109, Hansen 1971, 472, Allen 1983, 191–2 and Habicht 1989, 373.

²⁰ Polybius 33.18.1–2.

²¹ Strabo C624.

²² Polybius 33.18.2; cf. Polybius 4.2.5 for Philip V. There is no good reason to suppose that Polybius is here working with a notion of a special Pergamene ‘childhood’ (*paideia*) which ended at 15, as in Schröder et al. 1904, 170–1.

²³ Allen 1983, 220–1 no. 15 (for the Milesian decree), with pp. 191–2; see also Cardinali 1906, 129–38, Welles 1934 p. 268, Magie 1950, 773, Vatin 1971, 108–10, Hansen 1971, 193 and 471–4 and Hopp 1977, 18.

²⁴ See also Dittenberger 1903–5 nos. 319 and 329 (= Welles 1934 nos. 64–6); cf. Walbank 1957–89 on 30.2.6 and Allen 1983, 191.

²⁵ Vatin 1970, 107–8.

²⁶ Justin 36.4; cf. Cardinali 1906, 129–38, Magie 1950, 773, Vatin 1970, 111 and Hansen 1971, 473.

²⁷ Koperberg 1926; cf. Hansen 1971, 472.

²⁸ Köpp 1893. Against this idea see Breccia 1903, 52, Cardinali 1906, 130, Magie 1950, 773 and Hopp 1977, 19–20.

²⁹ See also Livy 45.5.5, Polybius 22.18.5, Appian *Macedonian Wars* 11.4, Plutarch *Moralia* 184b and 489ef, Diodorus 29.34 and Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 643; the events are reconstructed by Ferguson 1906, Walbank 1957–89 on 22.18.5, Vatin 1970, 112, Hansen 1971, 110–11 and Allen 1983, 192.

³⁰ Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15; the passage is passed over, for instance, in Allen’s collation of sources bearing upon Attalid dynastic relationships at 1983, 181–94. See Hansen 1971, 141 n. 141 for the implausibility of Attalus II’s death being the result of poison.

³¹ Justin 36.4.3.

³² See Walbank 1957–89 on 30.2.6, Vatin 1970, 110 and Hansen 1971, 472–3.

³³ Thus Breccia 1903, 52–4.

³⁴ Vatin 1970, 10–11.

³⁵ Hopp 1977, 23–5 and cf. 29.

³⁶ Hansen 1971, 146.

³⁷ Breccia 1903, 51–6 and 124, Magie 1950, 772–4 n. 76, Walbank 1957–89 on 30.2.6 and Hansen 1971, 471–4. Against this idea see Vatin 1970, 111–12, Hopp 1977, 26 and Allen 191 n. 23.

³⁸ Justin 36.4; cf. Livy’s remarks on the elaborate show of grief by Antiochus III for his son Antiochus the Son: 35.15.

- ³⁹ Diodorus 31.19.7; *pace* Allen 1983, 202.
- ⁴⁰ Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 544; cf. Reinach 1901.
- ⁴¹ Plutarch *Moralia* 258cd.
- ⁴² e.g. McShane 1964, 195 and Hopp 1977, 122–3.
- ⁴³ See Vatin 1970, 111–12 and Green 1990, 529 for general discussion.
- ⁴⁴ Sallust *Histories* 4.61–2 and Livy *Epitome* 59.
- ⁴⁵ Orosius 5.10.
- ⁴⁶ Florus 1.35.4.
- ⁴⁷ Eutropius 4.30.
- ⁴⁸ Plutarch *Flaminius* 21.
- ⁴⁹ Velleius Paterculus 2.4.1.
- ⁵⁰ Strabo C646.
- ⁵¹ Diodorus 34.2.26.
- ⁵² McGlew 1993, 181–2. For other aspects of Aristonicus' propaganda and ideology, including Heliopolis and the philosophy of Blossius, see Dudley 1941, Africa 1961, Vogt 1975, 93–102, Martinez 1983, Mileta 1985, Erskine 1990, 161–7 and Green 1990, 393–4 and 529.
- ⁵³ Justin 36.4.1.
- ⁵⁴ Vitruvius 4.1 (c.85); cf. Hansen 1971, 144.
- ⁵⁵ Fränkel and Habicht 1890–1967 no. 249 line 7 = Dittenberger 1903–5 no. 338; cf. Hansen 1971, 148.
- ⁵⁶ Sallust *Histories* 4.61–2 and [Acro] on Horace *Odes* 2.18.5–6; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* 1.697, Strabo C624, Livy *Epitome* 58–9, Pliny *Natural history* 22.148, Florus 1.47, Justin 36.4.5, Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 62. Ampelius 33.3, Eutropius 4.18, Orosius 5.8.3 and Eusebius *Chronicles* ii 130–1 Schöne.
- ⁵⁷ Hansen 1971, 147–8 and 151; cf. Cardinali 1910 and McShane 1964, 197.
- ⁵⁸ Mommsen 1862–75, iii 74.
- ⁵⁹ Allen 1983, 84.
- ⁶⁰ Mommsen 1862–75, iii 74, Cardinali 1910, 280 and Hansen 1971, 148–53.
- ⁶¹ Rostovtzeff 1941, ii 805–8 and iii 1521 nn. 75–7, Magie 1950, 32–3 and McShane 1974, 193–7.
- ⁶² Cf. Cardinali 1910.
- ⁶³ See Robinson 1954 and Kleiner and Noe 1977, 103–6; it is difficult to fit these coins into the reign of another Eumenes, but for the view that these coins should be connected in no way with Aristonicus, see Habicht 1989, 378.
- ⁶⁴ Eutropius 4.20.2 and Orosius 5.10.4; cf. Hopp 1977, 123. Carrata Thomes 1968, 51 notes the suitability of the area.
- ⁶⁵ Hopp 1977, 122–5; Hopp does, however, consider the transition from 'Aristonicus' to 'Eumenes' to witness the birth of the imposture.
- ⁶⁶ Justin 36.4. For the possibility of discontent in the Pergamene *chora*, see Carrata Thomes 1968, 27–9.
- ⁶⁷ Foucart 1904, 302.
- ⁶⁸ Diodorus 34.3 and Plutarch *Demetrius* 20; cf. Cardinali 1910, 270–1, Hansen 1971, 144–5 and Green 1990, 529.
- ⁶⁹ See Ussing 1899, 70, Cardinali 1910, 279, Hansen 1971, 148 and Hopp 1977, 124–5.

Part II

HELLENISTIC
ROYAL COURTESANS

Chapter 8

METHODOLOGY AND EVIDENCE

Several studies have addressed the phenomenon of the courtesan in ancient Greece, in whole or in part,¹ but to my knowledge no account has focused specifically on the hellenistic royal courtesans as a group. I attempt to make good this lack with the following survey, but the project is hampered by a number of obstacles:

1. It will be clear already that in the hellenistic courts there were few absolute distinctions of status or profile between queens, wives, concubines and courtesans. The Antigonids' Chryseis, as we have seen, seems to have started life clearly characterised as a courtesan, but to have ended it as a wife (see chapter 6).² Ptolemy Soter's Berenice may have undergone a similar transition (see chapter 4). It could be argued that Antiochus II's Laodice progressed from the status of wife, to that of courtesan, and back again to that of wife (see chapter 5).

2. Although our sources present us with many ostensible instances of courtesans at the hellenistic courts, we have seen in the preceding chapters that characterisation of a woman as a courtesan often merely refracts the malicious propaganda cast between competing amphimetric lines. Such, we may suspect, is the case with the allegations that Philinna, the mother of Arrhidaeus, was a Larissan 'dancing girl' (*orchēstris*, *saltatrix*) or 'whore' (*scortum*).³ How do we know, then, when a characterisation as a courtesan stems from malicious propaganda against a non-courtesan woman, and when it reflects the truth? Two vague and subjective indicators of the truth of a courtesan-characterisation might be:

a) An absence of apparent malice in the characterisation or its context. However, more vague expressions of moral disapproval of the courtesan's behaviour may well still be found.

b) A high level of detail in the characterisation. In none of the cases where one strongly suspects that a non-courtesan woman has been maliciously characterised as a courtesan do the characterisations as such appear detailed or sustained.

But even where we suspect that a woman is portrayed as a courtesan for false, malicious reasons we may still exploit the content of the

allegation as general evidence for the phenomenon of royal courtesanship.

3. The more dependable evidence for royal courtesans is scrappy. In the foregoing analysis of developing family structures in the hellenistic kingdoms we scrupulously analysed each dynasty separately, and each generation within each dynasty separately, so that we could be sensitive to variations between the practices of different dynasties and to developments in those practices across time. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient evidence to repeat such an approach in the case of courtesans specifically. To a certain extent we will have to treat all dynasties together, and treat all generations synchronically. However, we have already noticed that it may be possible to trace the rising role of courtesans as mothers to royal heirs across the generations of the Antigonid dynasty (chapter 6).

4. The common chicken-and-egg definitional problem affects the investigation into royal courtesans. Given the difficulty of deciding which women should be considered royal courtesans and which should not, we might be tempted to proceed by establishing a paradigm of the non-royal courtesan and then comparing the representations of the various royal women in question with it. (I shall apply the term 'non-royal' to those courtesans not associated with kings; I shall reserve the word 'common' for courtesans shared by more than one lover). But it is at least clear from some of the evidence that royal courtesans could differ in important respects from non-royal courtesans, and that they could have attributes which would define them clearly as non-courtesan women in a non-royal context, such as good birth, lack of promiscuity and significant religious roles. It is difficult to construct a paradigm instead for the specifically royal courtesan given that the evidence for them is so problematic in the first place.

5. It would in any case be difficult to draw up a paradigm for the non-royal courtesan. We might be tempted to draw up a series of indicators such as the following:

a) The application to them of a term denoting 'courtesan' or 'prostitute', such as, in Greek, *hetaira*, *pallakis*, *erōmenē* or *pornē*, or, in Latin, *paelex*, *meretrix* or *scortum*. Depending upon context, each of these words could be applied neutrally at a behavioural level or abusively at a discursive one. Thus, to consider the Greek terms, a wife would doubtless be insulted to be called a *hetaira*; many a *hetaira* would doubtless be insulted to be called a *pornē* ('common prostitute'); but a common prostitute might in a mood of realism accept the label *pornē*, whether or not she was happy in the trade.⁴

b) Sexual promiscuity.

- c) Musicianship, such as the playing of the flute or the harp.
- d) Names in some way connected with the courtesan's trade.⁵

However, despite such indicators, it has recently been demonstrated that in the classical period (non-royal) courtesans cultivated and indeed thrived upon an ambiguity of definition and eschewed the assignment of a specific role.⁶ Royal courtesans did likewise, and the fact that they existed within the royal sphere, a context in which familiar institutions in any case took on new significances, made their definition particularly difficult.

6. Above and beyond the problem of distinguishing 'wives' from 'courtesans' in a royal context, it could be argued from a number of perspectives that the term 'hellenistic royal courtesan' could not denote any very distinct phenomenon:

a) There are indications that some of the courtesans who consorted with kings were not exclusive to them (see below).

b) Courtesans could shade into other types of courtier. One, perhaps surprising, consideration is that they strongly resembled the ladies-in-waiting of the hellenistic queens. The point is well made by Peremans' and Van't Dak's prosopographical list for Ptolemaic Egypt: their section entitled 'Dames du cour' ('Ladies of the court') is almost exhausted by the Ptolemaic courtesans we discuss here.⁷ But in amongst them we find Eiras (or Naeira or Naera) and Charmion (or Charmione or Charmonion),⁸ the two ladies-in-waiting of Cleopatra VII immortalised by Shakespeare. Eiras was Cleopatra's hairdresser (*koureutria*), which, interestingly, is the trade that Tlepolemos abusively ascribed to either Oenanthe or Agathocleia, the courtesans of Ptolemy IV Philopator, as Polybius tells;⁹ Charmion was her manicurist.¹⁰ Again Berenice I springs to mind here, for she originally arrived in Egypt as lady-in-waiting to Soter's prior wife Eurydice, before becoming Soter's courtesan and then wife.¹¹ Perhaps the most striking ladies-in-waiting of all for our purpose are those who accompanied Berenice Pheronophoros to Syria when she was married to Antiochus II. Polyaeus tells how, after their mistress had been murdered, Panariste, Mania and Gethosyne buried her body and placed another woman in her bed to maintain the pretence that she was still alive whilst they summoned Ptolemy and continued government by sending out letters in her name.¹² These women shared a number of characteristics with courtesans. Firstly, they were tricky and resourceful. Secondly, they showed extreme loyalty to their mistress; we shall see that the royal courtesans tended to display loyalty to their kings. Thirdly, their maintenance of the pretence that the queen was still alive after her

death strongly resembles the pretence mounted by Agathocleia and the other courtesans after Philopator's death that he was still alive, albeit for the lesser motive of giving themselves the chance to plunder the treasury.¹³ Fourthly, Mania had a distinctive courtesan-style name (as we shall see), and Gethosyne's name too ('Joy') would have fitted a courtesan well.

c) There is also the problem of the theoretical type constituted by Cratesipolis. It is not clear whether this beautiful widow was, during her liaison with Demetrius, actually a courtesan of his or just an independent woman who fancied and enjoyed a one-night-stand with the king.¹⁴

d) We might also wonder to what extent courtesans were distinguished in their role as sexual entertainers from male partners. In fact evidence for male partners of hellenistic kings is rather thin. Alexander had famously fallen in love with the eunuch Bagoas, if eunuchs are to be classed as male for these purposes.¹⁵ Significantly, Curtius mentions that the royal quarters of Darius contained hordes of eunuchs alongside his 365 concubines.¹⁶ Although eunuchs did subsequently feature in administrative roles in hellenistic courts, the most obvious example being those of Philetaerus himself (see chapter 7) and Eulaeus at the court of Ptolemy V,¹⁷ they are not claimed as beloveds for the kings. Non-eunuch male lovers are claimed for Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonus Gonatas and Ptolemy Philopator. It is curious that none is claimed for the other great sensualist, Philadelphus. Poliorcetes allegedly filled the acropolis with free-born youths for sexual purposes (although we will question the pedigree of this claim). Two such objects of his desires are given names: Democles and Cleainetos the son of Cleomedon, the former of whom supposedly committed suicide to avoid his attentions.¹⁸ Antigonus Gonatas was the lover of the harpist (*kitharōidos*) Aristocles.¹⁹ Agathocles was supposedly the beloved of Philopator, alongside his sister Agathocleia and mother Oenanthe; it is possible that this notion derives from the abusive propaganda of Tlepolemos against him, as described by Polybius.²⁰

7. One of the greatest problems with our evidence stems from the fact that courtesans were all too intriguing. Their femaleness, their glamour, their sexiness, their wit, their moral precariousness, their association with the kings themselves and with famous literary figures meant that some of the courtesans became the objects of imaginative embroidery and indeed invention.²¹ This is a problem which particularly afflicts the courtesans of the court of Demetrius Poliorcetes. These women entered a tradition that was heavily fictive from an early

stage. They first seem to have entered the literary tradition via references in the plays of the contemporary comic poets, some of whom were their associates and lovers. By the middle of the third century, when some of these women may even have still been alive, they had been woven into Machon's *Chreiai*, significant chunks of which were preserved by Athenaeus (see below). In these the courtesans are portrayed as mixing with Demetrius and the comic poets in a fairly carefree fashion at their parties, as part of an idealised 'smart set', and uttering witty put-downs against their lovers and each other. The effect is one of a political, literary, social and of course erotic golden age. The chief characters of this repertoire are Lamia, Leaina, Gnathaina, Mania and (Menander's) Glycera. The witticisms put into the mouths of the individual courtesans seem easily transferable into the mouths of any of the others, and indeed such a transfer sometimes takes place: whereas Machon gave the joke about the 'stone' to Mania against Gnathaina,²² Lynceus of Samos gave it to Gnathaina against Phryne (see further below).²³ Almost everything in the *Chreiai* has the feel of being fictive, despite the work's proximity to its ostensible subject. From the AD period survive further literary productions reveling in this same 'golden age', and inspired directly or indirectly either by Machon or the sorts of anecdotes that he utilised: Lucian's *Dialogues of Courtesans* (second century AD) and Alciphron's *Letters of Courtesans* (second or third century AD). It is very difficult to know what historical information, if anything at all, can be retrieved from such idealised traditions.

Beyond the inherently fictive nature of the tradition itself, there are more specific reasons for considering as fictional individual episodes involving the *hetairai*. Thus Arrian, supposedly the best source for Alexander's *anabasis*, says nothing of Thais' fabled involvement in the burning of the palace at Persepolis: was she therefore on Alexander's *anabasis* at all?²⁴ (But see the further discussion below.) The mythical nature of the chief tale concerning Philadelphus' Glaucē, namely that an animal, be it a ram, goose or dog, fell in love with her, speaks for itself.²⁵ There is a discouraging degree of over-determination in the tale of the joke made by Ptolemy II or IV against Hippe: was the allusion to the horse-trough determined by the the girl's name ('Horse') or by the fact that her lover Theodotus was Keeper of the Fodder?²⁶ Plutarch's apparently specific tale of Demetrius' swingeing tax exactions from the Athenians so that Lamia and her fellow courtesans could buy soap is undercut by the admission that the same tale is also told of the Thessalians.²⁷

The tradition seems to have been worryingly undecided as to whether Gnathainion was the daughter or the grand-daughter of Gnathaina.²⁸ Given the interest of the tradition in Gnathainion, the representation of the mother of Perseus as a Gnathainion is intriguing.²⁹ It is a chronological impossibility that this Gnathainion should be identified with a grand-daughter, let alone a daughter, of a Gnathaina contemporary with Demetrius Poliorcetes (died 283): Lynceus was writing in the late fourth/early third century and Machon in the mid third century, long before Perseus' birth in 212. Furthermore we have argued above that this Gnathainion should be regarded as a malicious and amphimetrically-inspired representation of the respectable Polycrateia (chapter 6). It seems therefore that the name of Gnathainion may well have been selected for her by Polycrateia's abusers because of the currency of the name in the literary tradition about Antigonid courtesans. In this case, then, we may have the fictive tradition impacting on historical events.

Inevitably, therefore, amid so many aporias, the survey can proceed only with a significant degree of subjectivity in the handling of the sources:

Since this survey is basically organised in an analytical fashion, rather than a courtesan-by-courtesan fashion, it has seemed convenient to append to it a repertorium of sources for hellenistic royal courtesans or women characterised as such (appendix 2). The repertorium aspires to be reasonably exhaustive. The biggest single obstacle to exhaustiveness for it is constituted by the difficulties of the literary tradition about the prostitutes of Demetrius Poliorcetes' court and third century Athens in general, which leave it uncertain as to exactly which courtesans are to be considered 'royal courtesans' of Demetrius. Those without direct association with Demetrius in any source, credible or otherwise, have been omitted from the repertorium. A particular difficulty is caused here by Gnathaina: her association with Demetrius depends upon an optimistic interpretation of one phrase in one of the latest and most ostensibly fictive of our sources, Alciphron's *Letters of Courtesans*.³⁰ Here Lamia briefly wonders whether Demetrius prefers Gnathaina to herself. This may, or may not, imply that Gnathaina was a courtesan of Demetrius. Other indications that she may have been a courtesan of Demetrius' may be found in her close association in the literary tradition with other courtesans, such as Lamia and Mania, who can in turn be positively associated with Demetrius. But since Gnathaina was the most popular of all the courtesans of this set in the literary tradition, a single slight association with Demetrius leads to the inclusion of a significant number of

source-citations that have little direct bearing upon his court. It should be noted that in the case of the courtesans of the Ptolemies the repertorium owes much to the relevant section of Peremans' and Van't Dak's *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*.³¹

The study focuses as narrowly as possible upon those courtesans who are actually associated with hellenistic kings. An exception is made in the case of Harpalus, the rogue general of Alexander, both because he appears to have set himself up as a king in some ways and because he appears—in the current state of our evidence—to have constituted an important precedent or paradigm for the exalted and supposedly excessive treatment of courtesans for the hellenistic kings through his relationships with Pythionice and Glycera.³²

The major courtesans and the major courtesan-using kings

Most hellenistic royal courtesans are little more than names to us, each typically accompanied, if we are lucky, by a single salient fact or characterisation. There are only four or five individual courtesans the collated sources for whom would exceed a page of print. Alexander's and Ptolemy Soter's Thais is chiefly spoken of in the Alexander sources for her alleged role in the burning of the palace at Persepolis. Ptolemy Philadelphus' Bilistiche is served by several brief passing references in a variety of contexts. Ptolemy Philopator's Agathocleia we learn of primarily from a continuous passage of Polybius describing the aftermath of his death. Ptolemy Soter's and Demetrius Poliorcetes' Lamia is given substantial treatments by Plutarch in his *Demetrius* and by Athenaeus, who refers principally to Machon. The same sources serve Mania, although they pay less attention to her than to Lamia.

Certain kings had reputations for particular indulgence when it came to courtesans. There follows a league-table of kings to whom more than one named courtesan is attributed:

<i>King</i>	<i>No. of courtesans</i>	<i>Names of courtesans</i>
Ptolemy II Philadelphus	11	Agathocleia, Aglais (?), Bilistiche, Cleino, Didyme, Glaucé, Hippe, Mnesis, Myrtion, Potheine, Stratonice
Demetrius I Poliorcetes	9	Anticyra, Chrysis, Cratesipolis (?), Demo, Gnathaina (?), Lamia, Leaina, Mania/Melitta, Myrrhine
Ptolemy IV Philopator	3	Agathocleia, Aristonica, Oenanthe
Ptolemy I Soter	2	Lamia, Thais
Seleucus II Callinicus	2	Mysta, Nysa

It immediately stands out that two kings above all were ascribed a particular fondness for courtesans, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Both of them enjoyed general reputations for being men of taste and luxury. It is also immediately apparent, both from this list and from our consideration of which courtesans are best served by the evidence, that virtually all the evidence for hellenistic royal courtesans focuses on the dynasties of the Ptolemies and the Antigonids, and that the Seleucids and Attalids are heavily under-represented in it. There is perhaps little to be concerned about in the case of the Attalids; the dynasty was in any case rather short-lived and evinced reproductive patterns that were untypical of the hellenistic dynasties in general and that sought to appeal to norms of bourgeois morality.

The Seleucids constitute a much greater cause for concern: we can put names only to the two courtesans of Seleucus II, Mysta and Nysa, about whom we are told hardly anything.³³ And for all that Antiochus IV had a reputation for debauched drinking parties,³⁴ only a single named courtesan is attributed to him, Antiochis.³⁵ The data bearing upon all the Seleucid courtesans put together occupies a fraction of the volume of the information we have about Lamia alone. And yet the dynasty produced many kings—all too many, in fact—and much is known about the lives of the longer-lived members of its earlier generations. It is noteworthy, for example, that there is no mention of a courtesan anywhere amid the mass of information preserved on Antiochus III the Great. Ptolemy of Megalopolis does not ascribe any courtesans to him in his list of hellenistic royal ones.³⁶ So why are the sources relatively silent about Seleucid courtesans? One explanation could simply be that the Seleucids as a whole did not go in for them much. To take the example of Antiochus III further here, we may point to Plutarch's illustration of his high degree of sexual self-control: he immediately quitted Ephesus on seeing the beauty of the priestess of Artemis, so that his passions could not force him to commit an impious act.³⁷ However, there is a tantalising indication that one Seleucid (or quasi-Seleucid) king at any rate indulged himself with multiple courtesans: Justin says that 'whores' (*scorta*) kept Alexander Balas a virtual prisoner in his palace.³⁸ It seems better to suppose not that the Seleucids had fewer courtesans, or that they did not participate in the same culture of royal courtesans as the other dynasties, but that the Seleucid courtesans are just served more poorly by the sources. The obvious explanation for this in turn is that the Seleucids did not have within their territory a major centre of literary production,

as the Ptolemies had Alexandria and the Antigonids Athens. It is a particular shame that more has not survived of Ptolemy Physcon's account of the debaucheries of Antiochus IV, which could well have contained treatments of his relations with courtesans.³⁹

Some key sources

Virtually all our evidence for hellenistic royal courtesans is passed to us by sources of a heavily secondary nature that draw upon lost authors for their information. By far the most important of these recycling sources is the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaeus of Naucratis. Athenaeus worked in Rome and flourished c. 200 AD. More than 50% by volume of the preserved data on the hellenistic royal courtesans comes to us via the text of Athenaeus; many of the relevant passages are collected in his thirteenth book 'On women'.⁴⁰ It is fortunate that Athenaeus was scrupulous in identifying his sources. I mention here some of the more important earlier-generation sources.

Ptolemy of Megalopolis was probably known as Ptolemy son of Agesarchus in antiquity. All that is known of his biography comes from Polybius. He tells us, first, that Agathocles appointed him to be ambassador to Rome, primarily to remove him, as a man of distinction, from Alexandria.⁴¹ Secondly, he tells us that during the reign of Ptolemy V (204–180) he became governor of Cyprus. In his old age, and apparently whilst holding this office, he shared the fate of his predecessor in it, Polycrates, in that he wrecked the good reputation he had built up over his previous career by turning to sex and debauchery.⁴²

Ptolemy of Megalopolis was the author of a *Histories of Philopator*. It is hardly surprising that the work of one who developed such tastes in later life should have dwelt upon the subject of royal courtesans. The most intriguing feature of his work was that it contained a list of such royal courtesans.⁴³ Athenaeus lets us know that it included Philinna as a courtesan of Philip II, Lamia, Leaina and Mania as courtesans of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Demo as a courtesan of Antigonus Gonatas and Mysta and Nysa as courtesans of Seleucus II. In a separate reference Athenaeus tells us that Ptolemy also spoke of Philadelphus' Cleino in the third book of his *Histories of Philopator*.⁴⁴ This may or may not have been within the same list. We may presume also, given the subject of the work, and Ptolemy's demonstrated preparedness to discuss courtesans, that Oenanthe and Agathocleia and any other courtesans of Philopator were discussed in some detail, even though we have no known fragments of Ptolemy referring to them. Perhaps discussion of these women was indeed the occasion for the introduction of the wider

list. At any rate, we can be sure that the list ranged over the three main hellenistic dynasties, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids and the Antigonids, and went back also to the Argeads. Obviously it came down as far as Ptolemy's own lifetime. It is not clear to what extent the version of the list that Athenaeus gives us has been edited; it has obviously been edited to some extent, both because as it stands it makes no reference to any Ptolemaic courtesans and because Athenaeus makes it clear that he is omitting from it those courtesans of Demetrius Poliorcetes that he has recently mentioned in the course of a preceding quotation. Ptolemy may just have referred to selected women from each dynasty or may actually have compiled a detailed and ostensibly comprehensive list up to his own time.

In view of Polybius' familiarity with the life of Ptolemy of Megalopolis, we may presume that the *Histories of Philopator* was a source exploited by him. Two possible points at which Polybius may have recycled material on royal courtesans from Ptolemy may be identified. First, Athenaeus cites Polybius for information about the courtesans of Philadelphus: Cleino, Myrtion, Mnesis and Potheine. It is possible that Polybius' material does not come from Ptolemy of Megalopolis but from another major source for Ptolemaic courtesans, Ptolemy VIII Physcon, whom Athenaeus cites in order to add further information to that which can be gleaned from Polybius.⁴⁵ Secondly, Polybius cites no source (in the extant fragments) for his detailed treatment of the last days of Oenanthe and Agathocleia, but it is an obvious hypothesis that this material came from a work that is known both to have focused on the life of Philopator and to have taken a keen interest in courtesans.⁴⁶ One wonders whether the reputation that Ptolemy gained for debauchery was not read out of the interest he showed in it in his work.

Ptolemy VIII Physcon (ruled 170–116) constitutes a particularly interesting figure in the tradition of writing about royal courtesans, since he was such an insider. He is an author for fragments of whom we again depend totally on the work of Athenaeus, who preserves eleven (there is just one doubtful fragment of his preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium).⁴⁷ He wrote as a pupil of Aristarchus and his *Memoirs* (*Hypomnēmata*) were apparently much spoken of in antiquity, perhaps because of their taste for decadence.⁴⁸ The fragments of this work show that it had an autobiographical element, and included things as diverse as the natural history of Egypt and the wit of Massinissa.⁴⁹ The main interest of this work for us is that it contained a list of the mistresses of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which included Didyme, Bilistiche, Agathocleia, Stratonice, Myrtion and many others.⁵⁰ We may also

hypothesise that it dealt with the courtesan or courtesans of Antiochus IV, for the fragment which is perhaps most revealing of his style describes the drunken debaucheries of this king, even though it does not specifically mention courtesans.⁵¹ An interesting issue is whether it also dealt with Physcon's own courtesan Eirene/Ithaca. She is not mentioned in any of the preserved fragments, which may in itself be significant given Athenaeus' avidness for details about courtesans. We can be sure that Physcon employed at least a degree of discretion in his *Memoirs*: it is inconceivable that they contained accounts of his various outrageous dynastic murders such as are preserved by Justin.⁵² However, he does not seem to have shrunk from describing other aspects of his own excess: he described in detail the luxury of the banquet he prepared in Cyrene when he became priest of Apollo there for the previous holders of the office;⁵³ and his description of the exotic birds kept in the gardens of the Alexandrian palace also presumably relates to the period of his own reign.⁵⁴

Lynceus of Samos (early third century), was the brother of the more famous Duris and a pupil of Theophrastus. A range of his works are repeatedly cited by Athenaeus, and from these references it appears that his principal interests were the provenances, buying, preparation and consumption of luxury foods, and accompanying wit at table.⁵⁵ His *Deipnētikai epistolai* ('Banquet letters') are cited by both Plutarch and Athenaeus (twice) for having contained a full and elaborate description of the banquet given by Lamia for Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁵⁶ Athenaeus also quotes his *Apomnēmoneumata* for a protracted series of quick-fire witty ripostes from Gnathaina, including a version of the 'stone' tale, in which Gnathaina makes the riposte to Phryne.⁵⁷ He may also have spoken about Ptolemaic courtesans, since he described the symposium of a Ptolemy.⁵⁸ Lynceus may be even more important for our subject than is immediately apparent from these few references to works of perhaps narrow scope: he is the most probable written source that Gow can suggest, albeit tentatively, for the tales about courtesans in the *Chreiai* of Machon.⁵⁹

Machon, author of the *Chreiai*, which probably occupied just one book, is the single most important of the verse sources for hellenistic royal courtesans. He is another author for fragments of whose work we are totally dependent upon Athenaeus. From Machon we get rich stories—to avoid the word 'evidence'—about Philadelphus' Hippe,⁶⁰ and Demetrius Poliorcetes' Lamia,⁶¹ Leaina,⁶² Melitta-Mania⁶³ and Gnathaina (if relevant).⁶⁴ Machon was either from Corinth or Sicyon, but he worked in Alexandria at the Library. It could have been in

Sicyon that Machon picked up his tales about Lamia and her circle, in connection with her stoa. So his biography in itself may explain his apparent concentration on Antigonid and Ptolemaic courtesans at the expense of Seleucid ones. Machon's *floruit* is very uncertain, but Gow places it at 260–50 BC. Machon's own sources cannot be identified, but if he was indeed as chronologically close to Hippe and Lamia et al. as Gow thinks, then his sources could well have been oral for the most part. As we have seen, Gow tentatively advances Lynceus of Samos as a possible written source (although we should note that Machon and Lynceus contradict each other over the 'stone' joke: see above);⁶⁵ his recognition that a fragment of Philippides tells a Machon-like tale about Gnathaina may indicate another of his sources.⁶⁶

Notes

¹ Two recent works of particular importance here are Reinsberg 1993, 80–162 and Davidson 1997, 73–136; see also Carey 1992 and Henry 1995.

² Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13–14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne.

³ Athenaeus 577f–578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4), Justin 9.8.2 and 13.2.11; cf. also Plutarch *Alexander* 77.

⁴ For the range of Greek terms available for the denotation of court-eshanship or prostitution, see Schneider 1913, 1331.

⁵ See the catalogue and analysis of courtesan names at Schneider 1913, 1358–72.

⁶ Davidson 1997, 109–36.

⁷ Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81, vi.7, nos. 14713–14737.

⁸ Plutarch *Antony* 60 and 85, Zonaras 10.31, [Plutarch] *Alexandrian Proverbs* at Leutsch et al. 1839–51 (CPG) Supplement vol. iii no. 45 (p. 21) and Zenobius (CPG) 5.24; cf. Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 nos. 14720 and 14736.

⁹ Polybius 15.25.

¹⁰ [Plutarch] *Alexandrian proverbs* at Leutsch et al. 1839–51 (CPG) Supplement vol. iii no. 45 (p. 21).

¹¹ Pausanias 1.6.8–1.7.1.

¹² Polyaeus 8.50.

¹³ Justin 30.2.

¹⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 9.

¹⁵ See especially Curtius 6.5.22–3 and 10.1.22, Plutarch *Alexander* 67.3 and Athenaeus 603b.

¹⁶ Curtius 6.6.8.

¹⁷ Diodorus 30.15.

¹⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24.

¹⁹ Athenaeus 603de (including Antigonus of Carystus at Arnim 1923–38 [SVF] i.10).

²⁰ Polybius 14.11.1 (from Athenaeus 251e) and 15.25, Justin 30.2, Scholiast

Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 1059 and Jerome *In Daniele* 11.13–14 (including Porphyry *FGH* 260 F45).

²¹ Cf. Hawley 1993, 75–6 for the fictionalisation and idealisation of historical *hetairai* already in the classical period.

²² Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow). Gnathaina mocked Mania for suffering from the stone; Mania retorted that she would have given it to Gnathaina to wipe her bottom with.

²³ Athenaeus 584c; cf. Gow 1965 p. 100.

²⁴ Tarn 1948, ii 47–8, 82–3 and 324 argues that Alexander had no relationship with Thais.

²⁵ Scholiast Theocritus *Idyll* 4.31 (including Theophrastus F567c Fortenbaugh), Plutarch *Moralia* 972f, Aelian *Nature of animals* 1.6, 5.29 (including Theophrastus F567b Fortenbaugh), 8.11 (quoting Hegemon) and *Varia historia* 9.39 and Pliny *Natural history* 10.51. The fictional nature of this episode is underlined by its inclusion in a canon with other, similar ones, including the case of the goose of Aegium that fell in love with Amphilocheus of Olenus. A vase illustrates Glaucus with her goose: Thompson 1964.

²⁶ Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow) and Eustathius on *Iliad* 21.79.

²⁷ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.

²⁸ In one of the fragments of Machon Gnathainion is three times referred to as the daughter of Gnathaina (Athenaeus 581a–582c, including Machon F17 Gow). She is presumably to be identified with the unnamed daughter of Gnathaina mentioned by Lynceus of Samos (Athenaeus 585a). However, Athenaeus twice refers to Gnathainion as Gnathaina's grand-daughter: in the first of these references (581a) he speaks without attribution, but bizarrely makes the reference in the course of introducing the fragment of Machon in which she is three times described as Gnathaina's daughter; the second instance comes in the course of a complex passage in which Athenaeus is naming those courtesans collated by Apollodorus and Gorgias as omitted from the list of Aristophanes of Byzantium (583e). It may be that the literary tradition was undecided whether Gnathainion was the daughter or grand-daughter of Gnathaina, with damning implications for the historicity of it all. However, the damage can be contained if we suppose that the tradition was in general agreement that Gnathainion was the daughter of Gnathaina, and that the notion that she was her grand-daughter is merely due to a mistake of Athenaeus, who was perhaps led astray by the fact that the usual function of the Gnathainion character in the tales is to cast Gnathaina herself in the role of the crone. See Gow 1965 pp. 7–10 for discussion of these problems.

²⁹ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.7.

³⁰ Alciphron *Letters of Courtesans* 4.16.2.

³¹ Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 nos. 14713–14737.

³² Athenaeus 586c, 595a–596b (including Philemon *Babylonian* F15 K–A, Alexis *Lyciscus* F143 K–A, Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253 and Dicaearchus *On the descent into the Trophonius oracle* *FHG* ii p. 266 F72) and 605a–d (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F248), Plutarch *Phocion* 22 and *Moralia* 401a (quoting Crates), Diodorus 17.108 and Pausanias 1.37.5.

- ³³ Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4).
- ³⁴ See especially Diodorus 31.16; cf. also 29.32, Polybius 26.1–1a and Livy 41.20.
- ³⁵ 2 *Maccabees* 4.30.
- ³⁶ As noticed by Schmitt 1964, 13, speaking of Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4).
- ³⁷ Plutarch *Moralia* 183f.
- ³⁸ Justin 35.2.2.
- ³⁹ Athenaeus 438d–f (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 235 F3).
- ⁴⁰ For Athenaeus on courtesans in general see Hawley 1993.
- ⁴¹ Polybius 15.25.14–15 (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 T1); cf. Olshausen 1974 no. 37.
- ⁴² Polybius 18.55.6–9 (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 T2).
- ⁴³ Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4). A number of writers compiled lists of non-royal courtesans in antiquity. Athenaeus tells that *On the courtesans at Athens* books were written by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*FGH* 347 F1–2, third century BC), Ammonius of Alexandria (*FGH* 350, second century BC), Antiphanes the younger (*FGH* 359 F1–2, second century BC), Callistratus (*FGH* 348 F1, second century BC), Apollodorus of Athens (*FGH* 244 T17 and F208–12, mid second century BC) and Gorgias (*FGH* 351 F1, first century BC or AD): Athenaeus 567a, 583de, 586ab, 586f, 591cd and 596f; cf. Gow 1965, 20–1 and Hawley 1993, 76 and 88 n. 4.
- ⁴⁴ Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F3).
- ⁴⁵ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2).
- ⁴⁶ Walbank 1957–89 on 14.11 believes that Polybius' details on Agathocleia and Oenanthe come from Ptolemy of Megalopolis.
- ⁴⁷ Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 235 F12 = Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Anchilalē*.
- ⁴⁸ Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 235 T1 and 2.
- ⁴⁹ For a brief discussion of the contents and genre of the *Memoirs*, see Fraser 1972, i especially 515 and ii 743 n. 180.
- ⁵⁰ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4).
- ⁵¹ Athenaeus 438d–f (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F3).
- ⁵² Justin 38.8 etc.
- ⁵³ Athenaeus 549e–550a (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 235 F9).
- ⁵⁴ Athenaeus 654b–d (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 235 F2).
- ⁵⁵ Athenaeus refers to Lynceus' works at 4e, 62c, 75e, 100e, 101ef, 109d, 126e, 128ab, 130d, 228c, 241d, 242b, 245a, 245d, 285e, 295a, 313f, 330a, 337d–f, 344c, 360d, 401f, 402a, 434d, 469b, 496f, 499c, 583f–585f, 647a, 652d and 653a–654f. References are made to: his *Deipnētikai epistolai* ('Banquet letters'), which were supposedly written back to Theophrastus to report upon the exotic foods with which he had come into contact (his fellow pupil Hippolochus did the same); his *Letter to Diagoras*, *Letter to Apollodorus* and *Letter to the Comic Poseidippus*; his *Technē opsōnētikē* ('Marketing skills'), written for a friend who found it hard to shop for provisions; his *On Menander*; his *Apophthegmata* ('Apophthegms'); his *Apomnēmoneumata* ('Memoirs'), possibly identical with the last; and his comedy *Kentauros* (K–A). For testimonia see

Duris *FGH* 76 T1–3 and Suda s.v. *Lynkeus Samios*. For discussion of Lynceus see Körte 1927, Shipley 1987, 178 and Dalby 1996, 157–60. *Pace* Dalby 1996, 158, it is not true that we depend entirely upon Athenaeus for fragments of Lynceus: in addition to Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 (discussed below), see also Harpocration s.v. *ithyphallos*.

⁵⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 and Athenaeus 101ef and 128ab.

⁵⁷ Athenaeus 583f–584f.

⁵⁸ Athenaeus 100e.

⁵⁹ Gow 1965, 20.

⁶⁰ Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow).

⁶¹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12–13 Gow).

⁶² Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow).

⁶³ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14–15 Gow).

⁶⁴ Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F16–18 Gow). Gow 1965 observes that the tale about Gnathaina at Athenaeus 384f (including Philippides *Ananeousa* F5 K–A) looks very much like Machon.

⁶⁵ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow) and Athenaeus 584c (quoting Lynceus).

⁶⁶ See Gow 1965, 3–24 and Griffin 1982, 162; cf. Kassel and Austin for Philippides.

Chapter 9

STATUS AND CAREER

Courtesans as wives, mothers and queens

One of the major paradoxes of the royal courtesans of the hellenistic world, and one of the main points of contrast with non-royal courtesans, is that they could on occasion acquire the name of wives to kings and become the mothers of their heirs. A number of courtesans are said to have been married by their kings. In the background Harpalus had, according to Pausanias, married (*egēme*) Pythionice.¹ As for the Ptolemies, Athenaeus, quoting Cleitarchus, says it of Thais and Ptolemy Soter;² Ptolemy Soter evidently also married Berenice I, who may have begun her relationship with him as a courtesan.³ The indications for marriage to courtesans by the Antigonid kings are particularly strong: we shall argue below that Demetrius may have gone through a very special kind of marriage with his favourite Lamia; Lucian's suggestion that Antigonus Monophthalmos 'committed adultery' (*moicheuonta*) with the wife (*gynaika*) of his son, if it does, as it seems, refer to Demetrius Poliorcetes' courtesan Demo, would suggest that Demetrius married her;⁴ Porphyry tells that Chryseis was married by Demetrius Aetolicus and his successor Antigonus Doson, and other sources also say it of Chryseis and the latter.⁵ We are not told that Perseus' concubine (*pallakis*) Callippa was married to him, but we are told, by Diodorus, that she went on to marry (*synoikein*) Athenaeus, the prince of Pergamum, youngest brother to Eumenes II.⁶ The claim that a courtesan was married to her king presumably entailed the assumption that he had exclusive access to her.

Through wifehood courtesans could also attain the status of a queen.⁷ The courtesans of Alexander's rogue treasurer Harpalus had perhaps acquired a kind of queenship even without marriage: Theopompus (with his usual provocativeness) told that Harpalus permitted his courtesans Glycera and Pythionice to be hailed as queen (the latter as queen of Babylon), and permitted them also other symbols of royalty.⁸ In the hellenistic dynasties themselves the Berenice of Ptolemy I (if she ever was a courtesan) and the Chryseis of Demetrius Aetolicus and Antigonus Doson achieved queenship. Pomeroy's

suggestion that the Cleino of Ptolemy Philadelphus was also given queen-like attributes does not convince.⁹

The kings must have ensured exclusive access for themselves at any rate to those courtesans by whom they sired children. Harpalus had sired a daughter by Pythionice.¹⁰ Among the Ptolemies, Soter sired children by Thais: Leontiscus, Lagus (who bore the name of Ptolemy's father) and Eirene.¹¹ Agathocleia, the courtesan of Philopator, evidently bore a child since she had breast-milk, and we presume that Philopator was the father.¹² Eirene/Ithaca or some other concubine (*paelex*) bore Ptolemy Apion to Physcon.¹³ We argued above that the obscure mothers of the later Ptolemies, such as Auletes and Cleopatra VII, were probably concubines (chapter 4). Among the Attalids Aristonicus/Eumenes III is said to have been the son of Eumenes II by a lyre-playing concubine;¹⁴ and it was argued above that Attalus III may also have been a son of Eumenes by a—presumably different—concubine.

For the Antigonids, again courtesans produced a number of children. Lamia bore Phila to Demetrius Poliorcetes.¹⁵ A further but perhaps unreliable indication that Lamia had an exclusive relationship with Demetrius is the protestation of fidelity to him that Alciphron puts into her mouth; it is interesting though that Alciphron's Lamia also mentions that Demetrius has given her leave to sleep with anyone she pleases.¹⁶ Although Diogenes Laertius, citing Favorinus, says that she was a courtesan of Demetrius of Phalerum, this is almost certainly due to a mistaken interpretation—whether Diogenes', Favorinus' or someone else's—of a reference at some point in the tradition to Lamia as the lover of 'Demetrius' *tout court*, and should not be taken to undermine the hypothesis that Lamia had an exclusive relationship with Poliorcetes.¹⁷ Also among the Antigonids, a Demo bore Halcyoneus to Antigonus Gonatas;¹⁸ Chryseis bore Philip V to Demetrius Aetolicus;¹⁹ a woman represented as a courtesan, 'Gnathainion', bore Perseus to Philip V (although it was argued above that the mother of Perseus is likely to have been the Argive lady Polycrateia);²⁰ and a concubine of Perseus, perhaps Callippa, may have borne Andriscus to Perseus.²¹ In view of all this, it is potentially very significant that the Antigonids should have celebrated a festival in honour of courtesans, a *Hetairideia*, with sacrifices.²²

Some of these courtesans' children achieved great things: indeed the fact that they did such is what secures mention of them in the sources. In three dynasties, it seems, the children of courtesans gradually made their way, across the generations, to the throne: the Antigonids, the

Ptolemies and the Attalids. It is easier to speak with confidence about the first of these. Phila, the daughter of Lamia by Demetrius Poliorcetes, strangely bore the name of Demetrius' most esteemed wife and may have had a temple dedicated to her by Adeimantus of Lampsacus.²³ Halcyoneus, the son of Antigonus Gonatas by Demo, was educated by a distinguished Stoic, Persaeus; he was an important general in his father's army, and, as we argued above, was his father's heir at least until the birth of Demetrius II Aetolicus; after his death he was honoured by an extravagant annual festival.²⁴ Philip V, the son of Demetrius Aetolicus by Chryseis, became king, as did his son Perseus, allegedly born of Gnathainion, and as did Andriscus, allegedly Perseus' son by a concubine, perhaps Callippa. The rise to prominence of the children of courtesans in this dynasty was, we argued above, a product of the extreme discipline of family loyalty within the dynasty. There was probably also a gradual and rather fitful rise to prominence of the children of courtesans in the Ptolemaic dynasty, although the case here is admittedly more speculative. Ptolemy Soter's son by Thais, Lagus, bore his father's patronymic, and his full brother Leontiscus appears to have acted as an admiral for his father, since he was captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes in the sea-battle of Salamis.²⁵ Apion, Physcon's son by a concubine, probably Eirene/Ithaca, became ruler of the important Ptolemaic principality of Cyrene.²⁶ And we argued above that the final rulers of Egypt itself, Ptolemy XII Auletes and Cleopatra VII, were probably born of concubines (see chapter 4). Again, it has been argued that the final rulers of Pergamum, Attalus III and Eumenes III/Aristonicus, may have been borne to Eumenes II by concubines.

It is possible, however, to point to some apparent cases of courtesans in non-exclusive relationships with their kings, the theoretical possibility of which is implied by the words that Alciphron put into Lamia's mouth, as we have just seen.²⁷ Most of the relevant material here in fact concerns Demetrius Poliorcetes. We must bear it in mind that a chronologically unhitched assertion in our sources that a courtesan had a lover other than her king does not in itself mean that her relationship with the king was not exclusive for as long as it endured. If we believe that Demetrius Poliorcetes did have a Demo, and that his father Antigonus Monophthalmos became her 'adulterous' lover whilst she was with Demetrius, then this would constitute one example of non-exclusivity, but at least the Antigonids were 'keeping it in the family' (for which see further below).²⁸ Demetrius' Mania is said to have had many lovers, one of whom was the pancratiast Leontiscus.

That this relationship did not coincide with her relationship with Demetrius is suggested by Machon's assertion that Leontiscus attempted to keep her exclusively to himself like a wife. He failed, for she was seduced by another pancratiast, Antenor. Machon also speaks of another passing lover of hers, to whom she denied her behind.²⁹ If we could be sure that Gnathaina was in some way a lover of Demetrius,³⁰ then a non-exclusive relationship with him was a possibility, since she is represented by Machon as primarily the lover of Diphilus (she is only said to have taken up with the actor Andronicus after her retirement).³¹ Machon's version of the 'stone' joke suggests, without asserting it outright, that Diphilus was also a lover of Mania, since Gnathaina's abuse of Mania is portrayed as a retort to Diphilus' abuse of her.³² One might therefore suppose that Lynceus' ascription of roles in the tale (with Gnathaina making the joke against Phryne) is preferable to that of Machon because, although Lynceus does not mention Diphilus as such, he puts Gnathaina in the role occupied by Diphilus' lover in Machon's version,³³ and Gnathaina was after all the courtesan that Machon himself elsewhere associated particularly with Diphilus. But this is not a satisfactory solution, given that the reason for associating Gnathaina with Diphilus in the first place comes from Machon himself. Rather, we should admit that as far as Machon was concerned, both Gnathaina and Mania were lovers of Diphilus. Indeed the 'stone' tale makes more sense if Diphilus is also understood to be a lover of Gnathaina's within it, since it assumes his intimate knowledge of her. We should conclude from this that we are dealing with an idealised and largely confected world in which all the courtesan 'names' could be associated with above all Demetrius and Diphilus and after them any number of famous Athenians of the early hellenistic period. It is therefore very difficult to determine the extent of Demetrius' historical courtesan-milieu: Lamia and Mania are strongly identified as his lovers. We move to a degree of uncertainty when we come to Gnathaina: a relationship between Gnathaina and Demetrius is, as we have seen, vaguely implied by Alciphron,³⁴ but we might include her in Demetrius' broader circle at any rate because she is shown to have interacted with Mania. We then move to a further degree of uncertainty with someone like Phryne of Thespieae. No source links her name directly with that of Demetrius, but she too was popular in the literary tradition about smart early hellenistic courtesans in Athens, and was portrayed as interacting in her turn with Gnathaina by Lynceus of Samos, as we have seen.

Philopator's Oenanthe would appear, from the apparent patronymics

of two of her children, Agathocles son of Agathocles, and Agathocleia daughter of Diognetos, to have been married at least twice. These marriages evidently either preceded her relationship with (Euergetes? and) Philopator, or continued during it.³⁵ Machon, as quoted by Athenaeus and reflected in Eustathius, associates another non-exclusive relationship with one of the Ptolemies. Hippe was the lover of Ptolemy's Keeper of Fodder, Theodotus, but nonetheless attended drinking parties thrown by Ptolemy himself, where she interacted with him on at least familiar and jokey terms. Which Ptolemy was this? The two kings normally advanced as candidates are the two who were in any case particularly associated with courtesans, namely Philadelphus and Philopator; the jokey tale that is told seems more compatible with the lightness and wit associated with Philadelphus' court than the more vicious depravity associated with Philopator's. Gow placed her at Philadelphus' court because on his view Machon's own date ruled out Philopator's. But Bouché-Leclercq, Otto and Peremans and Van't Dak opted for Philopator.³⁶ The more lovers courtesans had in addition to their kings, the more difficult it becomes for us to distinguish a phenomenon of royal courtesans from the more general phenomenon of high-class courtesans.

If a king was taking a courtesan seriously as partner, let alone as a mother of his children, then he had to protect her honour. The courtesans' honour does seem to have been quite often attacked, perhaps as an indirect way of getting at the kings themselves. Most of the relevant evidence here concerns the Ptolemies. Most clearly, Diodorus tells that Physcon had his special Cyrenean guard killed because they reproached him with his concubine Eirene/Ithaca.³⁷ It is often held that Philadelphus had Sotades killed by being dumped in the sea in a leaden vessel because of his abuse not only of his incestuous union with Arsinoe II, as Athenaeus explicitly tells, but also his abuse of his courtesan Bilistiche.³⁸ In fact we cannot be certain that he abused Bilistiche: we are only told by the *Suda* that he wrote *eis Bilistichēn*, which may as well mean 'on' as 'against Bilistiche'. Perhaps we can divine an attempt by Soter to protect the reputation of Thais. It is possible that Ptolemy omitted from his histories her involvement in the burning of the palace at Persepolis. Whereas Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch make a set piece out of Thais' role in inspiring the destruction of the palace,³⁹ Arrian, who draws chiefly upon the work of Ptolemy alongside that of Aristobulus for his material, has only a perfunctory account of the burning, and one which makes no mention of Thais, crediting Alexander directly with the idea of doing it.⁴⁰ This may mean

that Ptolemy suppressed the role of his favourite in this disreputable episode. On the other hand it may mean that she did not actually have any role in it, and that her involvement is due to the embroidery of the vulgate tradition. As for the Antigonids, Demetrius famously rebuffed Lysimachus' abuse of Lamia with abuse of his wife Arsinoe II.⁴¹ According to Heraclides Lembos, as quoted by Athenaeus, Antigonus Monophthalmos executed Demetrius' parasite Oxythemis for, amongst other things, racking to death the maids of the courtesan Demo, whom he loved as his son did (but this tale is anachronistic, because Oxythemis survived the death of Monophthalmos: see chapter 6).⁴²

Courtesans could repay the kings' preparedness to protect their honour with loyalty other than that of the sexual kind. Athenaeus tells that when Ptolemy the Son (of Philadelphus) fled before the Thracians when they attacked Ephesus, his courtesan Eirene accompanied him in his flight, and that they took refuge in the great temple of Artemis there. After they had killed him, she clung to the knockers on the temple doors until they killed her there too⁴³ (shades here of the death of Cleopatra IV).⁴⁴ Similarly Athenaeus probably implies that Seleucus II was accompanied in his flight before the Galatians by his courtesan Mysteria, who exchanged her royal clothes for rags in order to avoid capture.⁴⁵ Appian tells that Antiochus X Eusebes was saved from death at the hands of Seleucus VI by a courtesan who fell in love with his beauty.⁴⁶

Finally, we may address two related issues. First, courtesans could perhaps have acted as wetnurses or foster mothers. The matter depends upon the difficult case of Agathocleia. Polybius tells that Agathocles claimed to the Alexandrian mob that the dying king Philopator had placed the child Ptolemy V in the hands of Agathocleia (and her mother Oenanthe);⁴⁷ however, since he earlier implies that it was Agathocles himself that had given the child to Agathocleia, he probably intends us to consider this claim false.⁴⁸ Later, when Agathocleia was about to be lynched by the mob, she exposed her breasts in an appeal for pity and claimed that she had suckled the young king Ptolemy V.⁴⁹ There may lurk here the traces of a custom by which courtesans acted as wetnurses and foster-mothers for royal children. It is likely, after all, that there were wetnurses and at any rate nannies among the courtiers. But Agathocles and Agathocleia had too many good reasons for inventing such claims for us to be able to take them very seriously. If Agathocleia was a courtesan of Philopator, and if she had indeed given birth to a child, as the availability of breast-milk requires, then the presumption must be that the child was

Philopator's. As the mother of the king's child she belonged to the worst conceivable category of individual to be entrusted with a child of the king by another woman, as was argued above. One might even suspect that her motive was to replace the child of Arsinoe with a child of her own, be it through surreptitious substitution or murder.

Secondly, courtesans may have been conceived of as aids to the all-important duty of royal procreation in general. It is easy to dismiss as a silly tale Theophrastus' claim that Philip II and Olympias employed the Thessalian courtesan Callixeina in order to convert Alexander from a perceived lack of sexual interest or a perceived excessive degree of homosexuality to a measure of heterosexuality.⁵⁰ Perhaps it is such, but it is worth bearing in mind the great pressure upon the kings to sire extensive families, the pressure which led them to take many wives. In such a context it is not inconceivable that the kings did indeed consciously surround themselves with alluring courtesans in order to maintain their sex-drive in the interest of siring many heirs—whether directly by the courtesans themselves or indirectly by their wives.

The lifestyles of the royal courtesans

A few things can be said about the lifestyles of the royal courtesans. Most important are the indications that they could possess great wealth—or at any rate exploit that of their kings. The relationship between the money and property they were given and the sexual services they provided was doubtlessly kept discreetly indirect.⁵¹

Harpalus' Glycera had owned huge grain supplies.⁵² The Seleucid Antiochus IV hypothecated the revenues of the cities of Tarsus and Mallus for the maintenance of his concubine Antiochis, much to their chagrin.⁵³ This closely resembles Antiochus II's hypothecation of the revenues from designated cities for the upkeep of his wife Laodice.⁵⁴ The Antigonid Demetrius I's Lamia may have benefited—if only temporarily—from a similar sort of arrangement. Plutarch's delicious tale in accordance with which Demetrius levied a swingeing 250 talents from the Athenians (or Thessalians) at short notice and then gave the proceeds to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap may originate in some such practice.⁵⁵ A second tale told by Plutarch might confirm this: he actually tells that she exacted money of her own accord from many people in Athens in order to finance the notoriously luxurious dinner she laid on for Demetrius.⁵⁶ But in a letter composed for her by Alciphron, Lamia is portrayed as inviting Demetrius to this same notorious dinner, and as slipping in the important qualification, 'if I am supplied with abundance by you'. This rather suggests that

Lamia did not control great wealth in her own right, but was more directly dependent upon Demetrius for her expenses.⁵⁷ Perhaps Alciphron is exercising literary licence to portray his courtesan in the characteristic role of attempting to wheedle money out of her lover. That Lamia did control great wealth is apparently indicated by the stoa she donated to the new Sicyon (Demetrias).⁵⁸ We may, however, suppose that this was Demetrius' way of adding grace and variety to his own benefaction. Nicolaus' claim that Demetrius gave his courtesan Myrrhine 'a share of his royalty' suggests that she too enjoyed wealth.⁵⁹ There is some evidence for the independent exercise of wealth by the Egyptian courtesans too. Philopator's Agathocleia apparently owned ships.⁶⁰ Philadelphus' Bilistiche actually lent out money.⁶¹ Her participation in the rich man's sport of horse racing is also indicative of significant wealth.⁶² On the margins of the hellenistic world Stratonice, the courtesan of Mithridates, seems to have profited well from the relationship: her poor father at any rate woke to find his house surrounded by all good things the morning after she had been chosen.⁶³

Some of the royal courtesans appear to have been attended by retinues. Theopompus' remarks about Pythionice at least imply that courtesans (not necessarily royal ones) could have servants who in turn had servants themselves.⁶⁴ Demetrius Poliorcetes' courtesan Demo, who was also supposedly admired by his father Antigonus Monophthalmos, had maids (*therapainai*), whom Demetrius' parasite Oxythemis racked to death, for which he was supposedly in turn executed by Antigonus (but, again, the tale is anachronistic as it stands).⁶⁵ We know that Philopator's Oenanthe had a team of lictors, whom she ordered to drive away from her the Alexandrian women who she believed hated her.⁶⁶ However, at this point Philopator was dead and she was now the mother of the effective ruler of Egypt, Agathocles: it was presumably in this capacity that she was accompanied by lictors.

The dress of royal courtesans could itself be 'royal'. The extreme and influential Harpalus had made all those who wished to offer him a crown offer one also to his courtesan Glycera.⁶⁷ But even non-royal Greeks could get carried away and give golden crowns to their courtesans: Phayllus had given his courtesan Bromias a golden ivy-leaf crown, and Philomelus had given Pharsalia, a Thessalian dancing-girl, a golden laurel-leaf crown. Both of these had been plundered from Delphi during the Second Sacred War.⁶⁸ Phylarchus told that Mysta, the courtesan of Seleucus II, exchanged her 'royal clothes' for rags in order to escape from the Galatians.⁶⁹ Were these clothes merely posh, or qualitatively and distinctively royal? Plutarch may, but need not,

imply that Philadelphus' Glaucē actually wore royal purple.⁷⁰ Callippa, the courtesan of Perseus and wife of Athenaeus of Pergamum, had availed herself of some (presumably male) royal clothes, which she was able to give to Andriscus.⁷¹ However, Nicolaus comments that Demetrius Poliorcetes' Myrrhine was given a share in Demetrius' royalty, but was not actually given a crown.⁷² The statues of Philadelphus' Cleino around Alexandria represented her wearing only a tunic and carrying a drinking horn: dress perhaps particularly suited to the symposium.⁷³ As for the kings themselves, according to Aelian Demetrius Poliorcetes would visit Lamia openly at her house wearing arms and diadem, but Lamia would then send him home.⁷⁴

Cosmetics appear twice in our evidence for the royal courtesans, both in connection with Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lamia. First, according to the notorious tale, the taxes extorted by Demetrius from the Athenians (or Thessalians) were given to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap.⁷⁵ Secondly, Machon tells an obscene tale in accordance with which Demetrius offered Lamia all sorts of perfumes, which she scorned, with the result that Demetrius offered her instead the scent of his genitals.⁷⁶ We will argue below that it may have been significant that Lamia as a courtesan chose to give Sicyon a *stoa poikilē*, a stoa brightly painted, as she was herself.

The only reference we have to the hairstyles of the royal courtesans is found in a fragment of Machon, where Mania expresses the fear that if she permits a *ponēros* guest to bugger her, he will bite off her 'plait'. The word used is a hapax, *emphlokion*, but context demands that it is some kind of plait to the rear of the head.⁷⁷

So far as accommodation is concerned, it was usual to keep royal wives apart from each other as much as possible (see appendix 1). It was doubtless usual to keep the courtesans apart from the wives too, to preserve the latter from insult and the former from embarrassment.⁷⁸ What is less clear is whether it was felt important to keep the courtesans themselves apart from each other. A distinctive model for such a practice amongst commoners is found in the case of orator Hyperides: he threw his son out of his Athenian house and replaced him in it with the *hetaira* Myrrhine; he kept another, Aristagora, in the Piraeus, and yet another, the Theban Phila, in Eleusis; all this before he went on, famously, to defend the *hetaira* Phryne against the charge of impiety.⁷⁹ But Philip, the younger son of Monophthalmos, is portrayed as having lived in a house with three young women, who, we suppose, were all courtesans.⁸⁰ And the different courtesans of an individual king could certainly be brought together at symposia—

Demetrius' Lamia and Leaina, for instance, are located by Machon at the same symposium.⁸¹

Accommodation for *hetairai* could be grand. Harpalus had given Glycera the privilege of residing in the royal palace at Tarsus (with himself or alone?).⁸² We learn from Polybius that Agathocleia had a residence of her own which was separate from that of her brother Agathocles, but we are again faced with the difficulty here that this evidence relates to the period when Agathocles had made himself effective ruler of Egypt after Philopator's death.⁸³ Justin may—or may not—indicate that Agathocleia had been housed within Philopator's palace during his lifetime, when he says that her outrageous behaviour eventually could no longer be contained within the palace walls. But this may just be a piece of colourful rhetoric.⁸⁴ Justin may imply that Alexander Balas kept his courtesans in his palace when he tells us that his whores (*scorta*) kept him a prisoner in it.⁸⁵ But again, we may be dealing with nothing more than rhetoric here. The grandest accommodation known for courtesans comes from the margins of the hellenistic world. Mithridates put his Stratonice in charge of the strongest of his fortresses.⁸⁶ Aelian portrays Lamia as receiving Demetrius Poliorcetes in her own house; indeed she exercised such independent control over it that she could even turn him away from it.⁸⁷

The level of accommodation available during war could vary. The implication of Plutarch's account of Demetrius Poliorcetes' capture of Lamia alongside much other booty from Ptolemy after the 306 battle of Salamis is that Lamia had been housed on board a floating palace (perhaps one akin to Ptolemy Philopator's subsequent *Thalamegos*: see appendix 1).⁸⁸ Life in the baggage-train of the kings' land armies was doubtless less comfortable: according to Plutarch, Thais said that the splendid luxuries of Persepolis compensated her for all the hardships she had had to endure on Alexander's *anabasis*.⁸⁹

Careers

There are in the evidence very few absolute or relative indications of the ages of courtesans. The most interesting information here is provided by Plutarch, who says that Demetrius Poliorcetes took on Lamia when she was already past her prime, but loved her devotedly all the same.⁹⁰ Despite the fact that she is compared to his wife Phila, the comparison is not one that permits us to conclude that, like Phila, she was older than Demetrius. The contention that Lamia was past her prime during her relationship with Demetrius is illustrated by Plutarch with two jokes from Mania about her being an old woman.

But this should set alarm bells ringing, for it is clear that there was a substantial literary sub-tradition of jokes about past-their-prime courtesans. A number of these jokes relate to Gnathaina, and indeed the role of her daughter or grand-daughter Gnathainion in these jokes is often to throw Gnathaina all the more emphatically into the role of crone.⁹¹ We may wonder therefore whether Lamia really was past her prime during her relationship with Demetrius, or whether Plutarch or some prior source has not misread or misused stock jokes about past-their-prime courtesans which in this instance happen to have been attached to Lamia.

There is a little evidence that the courtesans could enjoy mobility between dynasties. Thais was perhaps the courtesan of Alexander before she became the courtesan of Ptolemy. It is unclear whether she was with Alexander or already with Ptolemy during the Persepolis episode (or indeed whether she was on the *anabasis* at all: see above). For Cleitarchus she was with Alexander,⁹² but for Plutarch she was already with Ptolemy.⁹³ If she had been with Alexander, she presumably chose to take up with Ptolemy after his death. Indeed Ptolemy may have welcomed her precisely because of her association with Alexander: he may have felt that the taking on of his courtesan in a vague way legitimated his own claim to rulership, almost as if he were taking on a wife of Alexander. As we have seen, Ptolemy disdained Alexander's Persian women (who were in any case under the control of Perdiccas); the Athenian citizenwoman Thais may have been for him the most ethnically acceptable of Alexander's women, despite her courtesan status.

Callippa also transferred between dynasties, although the change was similarly forced upon her by the destruction of the Antigonids. She had belonged to the last Antigonid Perseus, but after his overthrow contrived to become the wife of Athenaeus, the youngest brother of the Attalid Eumenes II: the higher status of marriage, albeit with a lower ranking prince.⁹⁴

Lamia, as so often, is the most interesting case here. She began her life in Athens,⁹⁵ but found her way to Alexandria: Plutarch tells that she was in origin Ptolemy Soter's courtesan and that she fell into Demetrius Poliorcetes' hands after the battle of Salamis in 306, when he captured much else of Ptolemy's besides, such as arms and siege engines.⁹⁶ Now Lamia was a free woman and it is abundantly clear that she was treated as more than such by Demetrius; there is no question of her having been a captured chattel slave. That she would have been free to return to Ptolemy had she chosen to do so is indicated by the

fact that in the same battle Demetrius captured Ptolemy's son by Thais, Leontiscus, and Ptolemy's brother Menelaus, together with other courtiers, and sent them straight back to him.⁹⁷ The presumption must therefore be that she chose to transfer her affections to the glamorous Demetrius (perhaps because she wished to go home to Athens?). Demetrius presumably considered this seduction a moral coup over Ptolemy. In this case Lamia's usefulness to Demetrius was more than simply erotic or romantic. It is curious that all the tales relating to Lamia stem from her Antigonid period: we hear nothing of her interaction with Soter. A vague reflection of her Egyptian period may be found in her commentary on the judgement of the Egyptian king Bocchoris.⁹⁸ The much-travelled lady apparently continued her peregrinations on the Greek mainland; she presumably went on to visit Demetrius' new Sicyon, Demetrias, where she endowed her painted stoa,⁹⁹ even if she did not take up permanent residence there; she may have visited Thessaly with Demetrius, if any credence is to be given to the Thessalian variant of the soap story.¹⁰⁰

There is perhaps just enough here to suggest that courtesans from one royal house were welcomed into others. There may have been some sort of inter-dynastic market for them.

There is some reason to think that some courtesans exercised mobility not only between dynasties but between the members of a single dynasty. As we have seen, the Antigonids' 'Demo' was associated with no less than three generations, Antigonus Monophthalmos, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus Gonatas.¹⁰¹ We will argue below that two Demos may have been confused together, but this still leaves Demetrius sharing a courtesan either with his father or his son. Antigonus Doson married Chryseis, the courtesan of the king he succeeded, Demetrius Aetolicus.¹⁰² Amongst the Ptolemies Oenanthe, the mother of Agathocleia, is associated by the sources with Philopator alone, as is her daughter, but Walbank calculates that she must have come to Egypt from Samos during the reign of his father Euergetes, and guesses that she had originally been his courtesan.¹⁰³

What are we to make of this? In some ways it is surprising to see the women passed on between generations. One naturally thinks of the choice of a courtesan as being entirely a matter of personal erotic or romantic taste on the part of the kings. It was surely seldom that a favourite of the father appealed to the son too. There was also the matter of the courtesan's increasing age. But the transmission of courtesan from father to son may be illusory: the sexual partner of the father need not have become the sexual partner of the son. It may

simply have been an act of humanity to keep on a 'widowed' or retired courtesan as a pensioner of the court. The son could also have had non-erotic reasons for taking on his father's courtesan. We have repeatedly witnessed the use of levirate-legitimation in the hellenistic world, in accordance with which a son legitimated his succession by marrying a widow of his father. Perhaps the taking on of one's father's courtesans was just another aspect of assuming his role generally. The apparent progression of Chryseis from being the courtesan of her first king to the wife of her second underlines the point well. These considerations, along with those concerning Ptolemy's reasons for taking on Thais and Demetrius' for taking on Lamia, tend to undermine the notion that the royal courtesans were solely erotic in function.

Presumably most of the royal courtesans died of natural causes as palace pensioners. They were apparently much less susceptible to dynastic murder than the wives. The only courtesans we know to have died by violence are the Eirene of Ptolemy the Son, Oenanthe and Agathocleia, but their deaths were not really in the context of their courtesanhood. According to Polybius, the Alexandrian mob stripped the latter two naked, hauled them to the stadium, bit them, stabbed them, gouged out their eyes and tore them limb from limb.¹⁰⁴ According to Justin they were fastened to forked gibbets (*patibula*), i.e. crucified.¹⁰⁵

Ethnicity and origins

Where the women's origin is known, it is almost always a city of old Greece. A number are said to have come from Athens. Harpalus' Pythionice and Glycera were both Attic.¹⁰⁶ From Athens likewise were said to come Ptolemy Soter's Thais¹⁰⁷ and Demetrius Poliorcetes' Lamia¹⁰⁸ and Leaina.¹⁰⁹ Machon tells that Demetrius Poliorcetes' Mania also was Attic, and indeed argued that it was therefore outrageous that she should have been given a name which implied Phrygian birth. He also says that the name she was given at birth was Melitta, which, as Gow notes, contains the distinctively Attic *-tt-* cluster.¹¹⁰ Demetrius Poliorcetes' Myrrhine was Samian.¹¹¹ It may also be implied by a vague phrase of Plutarch that Philopator's Aristonica and Oenanthe were of Samian origin (Oenanthe's daughter Agathocleia was presumably born in Alexandria).¹¹² From Chios came Philadelphus' Glaucē.¹¹³ From Ephesus came the woman who was claimed to have been the concubine of Eumenes II and the mother of Aristonicus.¹¹⁴ From Larissa came Philip II's Philinna, who was alleged to be his courtesan,¹¹⁵ and from Thessaly too came Alexander's Callixeina, whose

exact city of origin is unspecified.¹¹⁶ If we were to believe that Philip V did have a courtesan called Gnathainion, we might also believe that her origin was Argive;¹¹⁷ we shall discuss below the possibility that Philadelphus' Bilistiche was Argive.

It was the very stuff of the courtesans' trade to invent fantasies, and their ethnics may sometimes have been among those aspects of their personality that were subject to such invention. In the population upheavals of the hellenistic world the city-ethnics claimed by aliens were virtually impossible to test, nor was much to be gained by doing so. I have suggested previously that the ethnics to which courtesans laid claim may sometimes have served as indicators of sexual style.¹¹⁸ More faith might be put in the claims of courtesans bearing the ethnics of the cities in which they operated, such as that of Lamia, who operated in her home city of Athens after she fell into Demetrius' hands. An ethnic accompanied by specific details of parentage might also be taken more seriously, and again Lamia constitutes a good example (see below).

Royal courtesans of non-Greek origin are few. The 360 Persian concubines of Darius that Alexander took over for himself are a special case.¹¹⁹ Of more interest is Ptolemy Philadelphus' Didyme. Ptolemy Physcon, quoted by Athenaeus, told that she was a native Egyptian.¹²⁰ It is tempting to associate with this Didyme therefore a poem of Asclepiades about a Didyme which tells that she is 'black' and compares her to coals that gleam like rosebuds.¹²¹ We are not told the origin of Ptolemy Physcon's courtesan Eirene/Ithaca; Pomeroy's assertion that she was Jewish is, I assume, based upon the fact that she interceded with Physcon for him to spare the Jews. This is insufficient reason.¹²² Only a perverse reading of Machon's remarks would lead one to suppose that Demetrius Poliorcetes' Mania actually was Phrygian.¹²³

Interestingly, courtesans are seldom said to have come from Macedon itself. The only possible example is that of Philadelphus' Bilistiche. Pausanias, discussing her 268 victory at Olympia with a pair of foals, asserts that she came from the coast of Macedonia.¹²⁴ His source here was probably reliable, since his material evidently derives from the Olympic victory lists. He seems to be confirmed in this by two other (compromised) Olympic lists: Eusebius tells that in 264 the victor in the pair of foals was 'Philistiakhus Maketi', apparently a corruption of *Bilistiche Macetis*, 'Bilistiche of Macedon';¹²⁵ and a fragment of an Olympic chronology in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, tentatively assigned to Phlegon of Tralles, tells that the victor in the 268 four-foal

chariot-race was a courtesan of Philadelphus. Her name is lost from the fragment, but enough letters of the woman's ethnic survive to show that it was *Macetis*, 'Macedonian.'¹²⁶ However, Athenaeus, referring to some mysterious 'writers of Argive history' says that she was Argive and derived her ancestry from the Atreidai.¹²⁷ Some sense can be made of this contradiction if we suppose that what was claimed for Bilistiche was Atreid or Argive *descent* rather than actual birth. The former royal family of Macedon itself, the Argeads, also claimed to be descended from the Argive Perdiccas (see chapter 1). Did Bilistiche therefore claim to be a scion of the Argead family? A rather more serious contradiction of the Macedonian contention is Plutarch's claim that she was barbarian and a market-bought slave.¹²⁸ If one were to take this seriously, one might suppose that, as a (former) slave of such origin she was given Macedonian citizenship for services rendered. The difficulty with this supposition is that there was no national citizenship of Macedon, only citizenship of its constituent cities, nor was the king she benefited with her services in a position to bestow citizenship of 'Macedon' or any of its cities in any meaningful way. It is better to suppose that Plutarch's claim is in fact a piece of rhetorical colouring used in context to point up the incongruity of a courtesan being honoured with shrines and temples (on which more below). In the past a number of scholars pursued Plutarch's claim that she was a barbarian, and exploited the difficulties over the exact form of her name to posit various non-Greek originals for it, as we shall see.

So much for their ethnicity, but what about the status of these women's birth? We have already hypothesised a noble background for Philip's Philinna (see chapter 1). The 360 courtesans that Alexander took over from Darius were, again, a special case, but, for what it is worth, they were said to have been not only of outstanding beauty, but also of outstanding birth.¹²⁹

Thais is a particularly interesting case, for her Athenianness is not merely noticed in passing by the sources, but is presented as the very key to her intervention which led to the burning down by Alexander of the Persian palace at Persepolis: her motive was precisely to avenge her own city for its burning by the Persians in 480.¹³⁰ This probably implies that Thais was not merely in origin a resident of Athens, but actually a citizen of it. Diogenes Laertius tells that Lamia was an (Athenian) citizenwoman of noble family and Athenaeus could actually give the name of her father, Cleanor.¹³¹ If the hypothesis outlined below is accepted, that Demetrius went through a rite of 'sacred marriage' with Lamia, then this too may be indicative of both Athenian

citizenship and high birth on her part. Machon's insistence that the name Mania was inappropriate, because Phrygian, for the Attic courtesan of Demetrius Poliorcetes also known as Melitta implies that she was not merely born in Attica but was actually a citizenwoman; no-one could object to the giving of such a name to a woman of slave or metic birth, whether she was born in Athens or anywhere else.¹³² Plutarch tells that Demetrius filled the acropolis with citizenwomen (as well as boys) for him to have sex with.¹³³ This may also be a reference to courtesans, but probably is not, since these women are then contrasted with the likes of the courtesans Chrysis, Lamia, Demo and Anticyra.

We have seen that the Macedonian Bilistiche was 'reputable' (*endoxos*) and that she claimed to be a descendant of the (mythical) Argive royal house, the Atreidai: a distinguished claim indeed (whether true or not), and one that may also have entailed a claim to membership of the former royal house of Macedon, the Argeads.¹³⁴ She is also one of the three hellenistic royal courtesans (alongside Lamia and Agathocleia) with a named father: Philon.¹³⁵ The fact that she became eponymous canephore of Arsinoe II would also normally indicate high birth, although she clearly held this post when she was an established courtesan, rather than still a virgin, which was probably the usual requirement for the office, and so her appointment to it was in any case exceptional and doubtless a reward for services rendered (see further below).¹³⁶

Philopator's Agathocleia may well have been a citizenwoman of Alexandria with a recognised father, despite the fact that her mother Oenante was herself a courtesan. She has been identified with an Agathocleia daughter of Diognetos who served as eponymous canephore of Arsinoe in 213/12 (the same considerations apply to her tenure of this office as apply to Bilistiche's tenure of it).¹³⁷ It is curious, however, that her brother Agathocles appears to have been the son of another husband of Oenante's, himself in turn an Agathocles.¹³⁸ Agathocleia is the only hellenistic royal courtesan whose mother's identity we know and the only one about whose siblings, her brother Agathocles and her unnamed sisters, we know anything at all.¹³⁹ Presumably both these men were Alexandrian citizens. These marriages may in turn suggest that Oenante's birth-status, of which we otherwise know nothing, was also respectable.

We are not informed about the actual birth-status of Demetrius Poliorcetes' Cratesipolis (if we are right to regard her as a courtesan). However, since she had been the wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, we may presume that she was nobly born.¹⁴⁰ Nor are we

informed about the birth status of the Chryseis of Demetrius Aetolicus and Antigonus Doson. However, we are told that she was a prisoner of war (*aichmalōtos*).¹⁴¹ At the point of her entry into the Antigonid sphere she was then technically a slave, but evidently a woman of respectable birth, for it would have been pointless and indeed misleading to describe an original slave captured in war as a 'prisoner of war'.

Apparently on the other side, Athenaeus, quoting a typically extreme portion of Theopompus, tells that Pythionice, the courtesan of Harpalus (whose relevance is of course marginal here), was 'triply slave and triply prostitute', because she was a slave prostitute owned by another slave-prostitute, Bacchis, who was in turn owned by a Thracian prostitute, Sinope. This assertion of course is nonsense in terms of Greek slave law: a slave could not own anything at all, let alone another slave.¹⁴²

In so far as we can divine it, the origins of these courtesans seem to have been surprisingly high: we are not dealing with slave prostitutes made good, but the daughters of respectable bourgeois houses. There appears to be very little to put between Lamia the daughter of the Athenian Cleanor, who became the courtesan of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Euboea, the daughter of the Chalcidian Cleoptolemus, who became wife of Antiochus III.¹⁴³

Names

Amongst most groups in the ancient world the issues of ethnicity and family provenance would be closely bound up with the issue of names. This is perhaps less obviously true in the case of courtesans. There is significant reason to suppose that a number of the names used by the royal courtesans were not their given names.¹⁴⁴

A further complication lies in the various possibilities for confusion in our literary traditions:

1. They may have failed to distinguish two different courtesans of the same name. Thus the Antigonid 'Demo' is associated primarily with Demetrius Poliorcetes, but also with his father Antigonus Monophthalmos and his son Antigonus Gonatas.¹⁴⁵ While we may believe that the same woman was perhaps associated with two generations, three generations seems to be stretching it, and the obvious assumption is that we are dealing with more than one 'Demo'. It is indeed a particular problem that courtesans, royal and otherwise, appear to have drawn their names from a rather limited pool.

2. They may have wrongly identified two different courtesans of different names. Thus Demetrius Poliorcetes' 'Mania' is identified with

'Demo' by Plutarch, but with 'Melitta' by Machon.¹⁴⁶ The obvious assumption is that one of these identifications is wrong. In this particular case we may, however, suspect that both this problem and the last have a common solution. Perhaps there were in fact two Manias (in other words, the tradition has made mistake no. 1. with them): Mania-Demo might have been shared by Demetrius and his son Gonatas, who got Halcyoneus from her; Mania-Melitta on the other hand may have been shared by Demetrius and his father Monophthalmos. The traditions may then have confused the two Manias and thus carried the name Demo across from one to the other, so that 'Demo' was also associated with Monophthalmos.

3. They may have wrongly differentiated one courtesan into two. Although this is not a mistake relating to a name as such in the first instance, it is a mistake which has significant implications for the reconstruction of courtesan name-traditions in the dynasties. Thus it has been suspected that the Agathocleia attributed to Philadelphus is merely a 'ghost' of the famous Agathocleia of Philopator (but this is unlikely as the information derives from the memoirs of Physcon, who ought to have known).¹⁴⁷

4. They may, theoretically, have failed to identify two different names used by the same courtesan, and so again differentiated a single historical courtesan into two, but in the scrappy state of our information it is hardly possible for us to reinstate such identifications. If we could, we might find ourselves reducing the numbers of courtesans ascribed to such multiple users as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemy Philadelphus.

'Mania' best illustrates the contention that royal courtesans did not usually or perhaps ever employ their given names. As we have seen, Machon was scandalised that an Athenian woman with the given name of Melitta should have had such a Phrygian and therefore servile surname attached to her.¹⁴⁸ He then goes on to explain that she acquired the name either because her beauty inspired 'madness' (*mania*) in people, or because she was ever crying out 'madness!' in response to jokes.¹⁴⁹ It is a difficulty, however, as Machon himself realised, the Phrygian name contained a long *a* (*Mānia*), whereas the word for madness a short one. He therefore asserts, rather arbitrarily, that one of her lovers lengthened the *a* in her nickname but gives no reason for it. We must conclude that the slave name *Mānia* was particularly popular for courtesans, who would often have been slaves in any case, precisely because it evoked the word *mānia*, 'madness', which appeared to describe the effect they could have upon men. It is significant that

Bacchis, a term signifying frenzied divine possession, was also a popular name for courtesans.¹⁵⁰ The name Mysteria, which belonged, for instance, to a courtesan of Seleucus II, may have had a similar significance, 'One initiated in the mysteries'.¹⁵¹ The abusive connotations of the name Mania in both its interpretations were doubtless intended playfully.¹⁵²

We are given dual names for another royal courtesan too. Josephus says that some called the courtesan of Physcon Ithaca, others Eirene.¹⁵³ It is possible that Josephus or some intermediate source has confused two different women. On the assumption that the two names did define the same woman, we may suppose that the relatively rare Ithaca was her original name, and that Eirene, the name also of a courtesan of Ptolemy the Son,¹⁵⁴ was her 'courtesan' name. We may also suppose that the Greek name 'Didyme' ('Twin') was not the given name of Philadelphus' courtesan, if she was indeed of native Egyptian origin.¹⁵⁵

Lamia's name is also probably too good to be true. Although it does appear to have served as a name for respectable women in Boeotia,¹⁵⁶ its primary reference was probably to the mythical monster of the name.¹⁵⁷ The link was made explicitly in the joke of Demochares of Soli related by Plutarch that Demetrius was 'Myth', because like myth he too had a Lamia, and by Lysimachus, who compared the love-bites she gave Demetrius with his own scars from being mauled by the lion that Alexander had set upon him.¹⁵⁸ Anaxilas significantly made a general comparison of *hetairai* to a range of mythical female monsters: the Chimaera, Charybdis, Scylla, the Sphinx, the Hydra, the Leaina (Lioness), the Echidna (Adder) and the Harpies.¹⁵⁹ Just as the mythical monster ate men's flesh, so the courtesan devoured their substance, as is well illustrated in Plutarch's tales of the use to which Lamia put the profits of the swingeing tax that Demetrius had exacted from the Athenians (or Thessalians), of her extravagant dinner for him, and of her reaction to the judgement of Bocchoris.¹⁶⁰ Curiously, there is also ambiguity over the quantity of the *a* in Lamia's name. Although it normally scans with a short *a*, in Machon's tale of her joke with Demetrius about Leaina it scans with a long one.¹⁶¹ This peculiarity led Meinecke to suggest that the text should read 'Mānia' instead, but, as Gow notes, the story is well embedded in its Athenaeus context in a series of tales about Lamia.¹⁶² Lamia may have been a popular name for courtesans, since Themistocles also had one of the name.¹⁶³ Demetrius' Lamia acquired another surname in turn, as Plutarch again relates, quoting an adespotic comic fragment: this was *Helepolis*, 'City-taker', the technical name for Demetrius' superb siege catapults

and a name which seemed so appropriate to the depredations her luxuries made upon the civic purse.¹⁶⁴ It also had a fortunate resemblance in structure to a reasonably frequent feminine name-type, and in particular strongly resembled the name of another lover of Demetrius, *Cratēsi-polis*, which itself signified 'Dominion over the city'.

The qualities of madness and wild bestiality embodied in the names of Mania and Lamia were also to be found in the name of Demetrius' Leaina, 'Lioness'. The name was a popular one for courtesans: the *Suda* mentions a Corinthian courtesan of the name who was evidently once famous,¹⁶⁵ and Harmodius the Athenian tyrannicide had a mistress of this name, who may or may not have been the Corinthian.¹⁶⁶ The diminutive Leontion was also popular, and is found as the name of Hermesianax's mistress¹⁶⁷ and that of Epicurus' mistress.¹⁶⁸ The name Leaina perhaps had a more specific connotation for a courtesan, for the 'lioness' was also the technical name for a sex-position, and Machon significantly portrays Leaina as assuming it whilst Lamia adopted the 'riding-horse' position (*kelēs*).¹⁶⁹

This brings us conveniently to the courtesans' horse-names: Philadelphus' (or Philopator's) Hippe ('Horse') and Perseus' Callippa ('Beautiful horse'). Hippe's name, given the context in which it appears, a joke relating it significantly both to the job of her lover, the Keeper of the Fodder, and to her appetite for alcohol, which was so great that it would best be served up to her in a horse-trough, might again be thought too good to be true.¹⁷⁰ Normally a name with a 'horse' element (-*hipp*-) would speak of aristocracy. But when these names are applied to courtesans, we may think of other explanations. The popular courtesans' sex-position of the *kelēs* ('riding-horse') may hold the key. This seems to have denoted the position whereby the woman sits astride the man, who lies on his back, so that she 'rides' him like a jockey on a horse. Two hellenistic epigrams are of interest here. The first, by Asclepiades or Poseidippus, poses as a dedicatory epigram by Plangon for a victory in the 'riding-horse' (*kelēs*) over Philaenis. Its double-entendres betray that the victory has been in a sex-competition, and that Plangon had managed to exhaust the 'colts'; the use of the name Philaenis is doubtless an appropriate reference to the famous authoress of the sex manual.¹⁷¹ In the second epigram, by Asclepiades, Lysidice dedicates a riding-goad with which she had 'trained' many a supine 'stallion'.¹⁷²

The name of Demetrius Aetolicus' Chryseis also seems too good to be true: it suits a prisoner of war all too well in view of the *Iliad*'s Chryseis,¹⁷³ and also suits a courtesan all too well, signifying as it does

'Golden'.¹⁷⁴ Demetrius Poliorcetes had a courtesan with the similar name of Chrysis.¹⁷⁵

Let us briefly indicate a number of other royal courtesan names that seem particularly well adapted to their profession: Alexander's Callixeina, 'Beautiful stranger'; Philadelphus' Potheine, 'Longed for'; Euergetes' and Philopator's Oenante, 'Flower of the wine' (a suitable name for a symposiac artist); the Antigonids' Demo, 'Public'; Demetrius Poliorcetes' Gnathaina (if she was his) and Philip V's Gnathainion (if she existed) 'Jaw' (significant in view of courtesans' fabled voracity?).

The name of Philadelphus' Bilistiche is of particular interest. Its orthography was long disputed, with the manuscript traditions of some authors preserving variant forms: the manuscripts of Pausanias called her Belistiche, those of Plutarch Belestiche, while those of Clement called her Blistiche (not to mention the bizarre gender-crossing corruption of Eusebius, Philistiakhus).¹⁷⁶ But the spelling Bilistiche is now confirmed by a contemporary papyrus.¹⁷⁷ The variant versions and Plutarch's assertion that she was of barbarian origin licensed imaginative reconstructions of her name and ethnicity in the past: one turned her into a Phoenician Ba'al-yishthas; another made her an Iberian, comparing her name to that of Livy's Bilistages.¹⁷⁸ Her name is indeed curious, particularly in its former element. My instinct, since she was Macedonian, is that the solution to it lies in the peculiarities of the Macedonian dialect. The first element presumably relates to *phil-*, 'love'; Philip of Macedon after all famously knew himself as 'Bilippos'.¹⁷⁹ At any rate, it seems likely that Bilistiche was not a courtesan's name, and that it was therefore this woman's given name.

In view of the fact that courtesans' names seem so often to have been assumed ones, and in view of the unquantifiable tendency of the source traditions to confuse names, it is perhaps rash to attempt to find any patterns in their use. Nonetheless, a faint pattern does emerge: that of the specialisation of courtesan names within dynasties, attested by the presence of pairs of courtesans of identical or similar names within the same dynasties but not across dynasties. Thus there appear to have been two Agathocleias within the Ptolemaic dynasty, one with Philadelphus¹⁸⁰ and one with Philopator,¹⁸¹ if the former is not a ghost of the latter. Among the Ptolemies too we find an Eirene with Ptolemy the Son,¹⁸² and another, also known as 'Ithaca', with Ptolemy Physcon;¹⁸³ we should also note here that Thais had borne a daughter Eirene to Ptolemy Soter.¹⁸⁴ We hypothesised above that source difficulties for early Antigonid courtesans were best resolved by the assumption that there were two Demos or two Manias in the early generations

of the dynasty. Among the Antigonids too we find a Chrysis of Demetrius Poliorcetes¹⁸⁵ and a Chryseis of Demetrius Aetolicus and Antigonos Doson.¹⁸⁶ Also, we find that Demetrius Poliorcetes may have had a Gnathaina,¹⁸⁷ whilst Philip V is alleged to have had a Gnathainion.¹⁸⁸ The closest we can come to making a name-pair across the dynasties is to link Ptolemy Philadelphus' Myrtion¹⁸⁹ with the Antigonid Demetrius Poliorcetes' Myrrhine, which is not very close.¹⁹⁰

If this pattern is to be taken as significant, what does it signify? Since the courtesan names were, as we have argued, largely assumed ones rather than given ones, we would appear to be dealing primarily with a pattern of names alone, rather than a pattern of people. It seems that just as the dynasties liked to give names to their children which had a special tradition within the family, so too they liked to give names to their courtesans which had some sort of tradition within the courtesans of their family. However, we may after all be dealing with a pattern of people in the case of the Ptolemaic Agathocleias, a name which is in any case not indicative of courtesanhood *per se*: it would be absurd to suggest that Philopator's Agathocleia was named in the tradition of Philadelphus' Agathocleia, when she had a brother called Agathocles and he in turn had a father also called Agathocles (Agathocleia's own father was probably, as we saw, a Diognetos). In this case then we may after all hypothesise the existence of a family that developed a tradition of delivering its daughters to the Ptolemies as courtesans. Indeed, it presumably delivered its wives up in the same way, since the mother of Agathocles and Agathocleia, Oenanthe, was also a courtesan of (Euergetes and) Philopator.

Notes

¹ Pausanias 1.37.4.

² Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11).

³ Pausanias 1.6.8 etc.; see chapter 4.

⁴ Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15; cf. Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4 and Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4).

⁵ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13-14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237-8 Schöne, Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8, *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Dōsōn* and Syncellus 535.19 Dindorf.

⁶ Diodorus 32.15.

⁷ Cf. Athenaeus 577a (including Eumachus of Neapolis *FGH* 178 F1), who tells that Hieronymus of Syracuse took to wife Peitho, a brothel prostitute, and made her his queen.

⁸ Athenaeus 595a-e (including Philemon *Babylonian* F15 K-A and Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253 and 254b) and Diodorus 17.108; cf. Carney 1991a, 158.

⁹ Pomeroy 1984, 54, on the basis of Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis F161 F3 and Polybius 14.11).

¹⁰ Plutarch *Phocion* 22.

¹¹ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11); cf. Justin 15.2.

¹² Polybius 15.31. The child—if male—may be mentioned at the fragmentary *P. Haun.* 6 F67 line 6.

¹³ Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5, Diodorus 33.13 and Justin 39.5.2.

¹⁴ Justin 36.4.6 and Eutropius 4.20; cf. Plutarch *Flamininus* 21.

¹⁵ Athenaeus 577c; cf. Wehrli 1964.

¹⁶ Alciphron 4.16.

¹⁷ Diogenes Laertius 5.76 (including Favorinus *FHG* iii 578 F8). We can tell little of the exclusivity of Demetrius' courtesans to him from his retort to Lysimachus that the common whores (*pornai*) of his court were more chaste than Lysimachus' 'Penelope', i.e. Arsinoe II (Athenaeus 614ef, including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12). The reference here is significantly to *common* whores; no chastity is claimed for them, but the extreme opposite is claimed for Arsinoe II.

¹⁸ Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4).

¹⁹ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne and *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Dōsōn*.

²⁰ Plutarch *Aratus* 54.7 and *Aemilius Paullus* 8.7 (both giving the name Gnathainion), Livy 40.9.2 and Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43.

²¹ Diodorus 32.15, with chapter 6 above.

²² Athenaeus 572de (including Hegesander *FHG* iv 418 F25).

²³ Athenaeus 255c, which is corrupt, as interpreted by Geyer 1925a, 547; cf. also Robert 1946, 18 and Wehrli 1964, 141–2; further discussion of this passage below.

²⁴ Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 34, Diogenes Laertius 4.41.2 and 7.36 (= Arnim 1923–38 [SVF] i no. 435).

²⁵ Justin 15.2.

²⁶ Justin 39.5.2; cf. Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5 and Diodorus 33.13.

²⁷ Alciphron 4.16. Non-royal courtesans could sometimes be shared in quite a formal way by established lovers: see [Demosthenes] 59.29 and 47 and Lysias 4; cf. Davidson 1997, 73–108.

²⁸ Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4 and Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4) and Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15.

²⁹ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14–15 Gow); cf. Athenaeus 135d and Eusebius *Chronicles* i 206 Schöne for Antenor; see Gulick 1927–41 ad loc.

³⁰ In view of Alciphron 4.16.

³¹ Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F16–17 Gow, Diphilus T8 K–A and quoting Lynceus of Samos *Apomnēmoneumata*).

³² Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow).

³³ Athenaeus 584c (quoting Lynceus of Samos); cf. Gow 1965 p. 100.

³⁴ Alciphron 4.16.

³⁵ Wilcken 1927, 74 and Isjewijn 1961 no. 74; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 49.

³⁶ Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow) and Eustathius on *Iliad*

21.79; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903–7, i 331, Otto 1913, Gow 1965, 10–11 and Peremans and Van't Dack 1950–81 no. 14725 (writing in 1968).

³⁷ Diodorus 33.13.

³⁸ Athenaeus 620f–621a (including Carystius of Pergamum *FHG* iv 359 F19) and Hegesander *FHG* iv 415 F12; cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 11a; see Fraser 1972, i 117–18 and ii 210 nn. 204–6.

³⁹ Curtius 5.7.2–11, Diodorus 17.72 and Plutarch *Alexander* 38.

⁴⁰ Arrian *Anabasis* 3.18.11; a similar version at Strabo C729; Plutarch *Alexander* 38 is also familiar with the idea that it may have been an act of deliberate policy on Alexander's part.

⁴¹ Athenaeus 614ef (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12) and Plutarch *Demetrius* 25 (cf. 27).

⁴² Athenaeus 578ab (including Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4).

⁴³ Athenaeus 593ab.

⁴⁴ Justin 39.3.11.

⁴⁵ Athenaeus 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* F81 F30).

⁴⁶ Appian *Syrian Wars* 69.

⁴⁷ Polybius 15.26.

⁴⁸ Polybius 15.25.

⁴⁹ Polybius 15.31.

⁵⁰ Athenaeus 435a (including Theophrastus F578 Fortenbaugh).

⁵¹ See Davidson 1997, 109–36.

⁵² Athenaeus 596b (including TrGF 91 Python F1 *Agen*).

⁵³ 2 *Maccabees* 4.30.

⁵⁴ Welles 1934 nos.18–20 etc.; see chapter 5. Further back the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes I had assigned to Themistocles the revenues of the cities of Magnesia for his bread, Lampsacus for his wine, Myus for his meat, Percote for his bedding and Palaescepsis for his clothes: Plutarch *Themistocles* 29 (including Neanthes of Cyzicus *FGH* 84 F17).

⁵⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.

⁵⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.

⁵⁷ Alciphron 4.16.

⁵⁸ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45–6 Preller).

⁵⁹ Athenaeus 593a (including Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F90).

⁶⁰ *P. Strasburg* i 562, 563 and ii 113; cf. Hauben 1975 and Clarysse 1976.

⁶¹ *P. Hibeh* ii 261–2.

⁶² Phlegon of Tralles (?) *Olympic chronology* = *FGH* 257a F6 = *P. Oxy.* 2082 F6 lines 6–8, Pausanias 5.8.11 and Eusebius *Chronicles* i 207 Schöne.

⁶³ Plutarch *Pompey* 36.

⁶⁴ Athenaeus 595a–c (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253).

⁶⁵ Athenaeus 578ab (including Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4).

⁶⁶ Polybius 15.29.

⁶⁷ Athenaeus 595a–c (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253).

⁶⁸ Athenaeus 605bc (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F248).

⁶⁹ Athenaeus 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F30).

⁷⁰ Plutarch *Moralia* 397a.

⁷¹ Diodorus 32.15.

- ⁷² Athenaeus 593a (including Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F90).
- ⁷³ Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F3 and Polybius 14.11).
- ⁷⁴ Aelian *Varia historia* 12.17.
- ⁷⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ⁷⁶ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F13 Gow).
- ⁷⁷ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F15 Gow).
- ⁷⁸ See Terence *Hecyra* 755–6 for the phenomenon in a fictional non-royal context; cf. Ogden 1996a, 100–6.
- ⁷⁹ Athenaeus 590c (including Idomeneus *FHG* ii 492 F12) and Plutarch *Moralia* 849d.
- ⁸⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 23.
- ⁸¹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow).
- ⁸² Athenaeus 595a–c (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253).
- ⁸³ Polybius 15.32.
- ⁸⁴ Justin 30.2.
- ⁸⁵ Justin 35.2.2.
- ⁸⁶ Plutarch *Pompey* 36.
- ⁸⁷ Aelian *Varia historia* 12.17.
- ⁸⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16.
- ⁸⁹ Plutarch *Alexander* 38; cf. Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11), Diodorus 17.72 and Curtius 5.7.2–11.
- ⁹⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ⁹¹ Athenaeus 558ab (including Anaxilas *Neottis* F22 K–A and quoting Aristodemus), 567f (including Timocles *Orestautocleides* F27 K–A) and 578e–585b (including Machon F16–17 Gow).
- ⁹² Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11).
- ⁹³ Plutarch *Alexander* 38.
- ⁹⁴ Diodorus 32.15.
- ⁹⁵ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45 Preller etc.).
- ⁹⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16.
- ⁹⁷ Justin 15.2.7.
- ⁹⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ⁹⁹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45 Preller).
- ¹⁰⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ¹⁰¹ Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4 and Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4); cf. Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15.
- ¹⁰² Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne, Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8, *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Dōsōn* and Syncellus 535.19 Dindorf.
- ¹⁰³ Walbank 1957–89 on Polybius 14.11; so too Hauben 1975, 290.
- ¹⁰⁴ Polybius 15.33.
- ¹⁰⁵ Justin 30.2.
- ¹⁰⁶ Diodorus 17.108.
- ¹⁰⁷ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11), Plutarch *Alexander* 38, Diodorus 17.72, Curtius 5.7.2–11 and Justin 15.2. In view of the explicit and emphatic assertion of our sources that she was Athenian, there

seems little point in pursuing the speculation that she was Egyptian and that her name was in origin Ta-Isis; see Bevan 1927, 53 n. 3, citing Letronne.

¹⁰⁸ Athenaeus 128b (quoting Lynceus of Samos) and 577c–f (including Polemon F45–6 Preller), Clement Protrepticus 4.48 and Diogenes Laertius 5.76 (including Favorinus *FHG* iii 578 F8).

¹⁰⁹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45–6 Preller and Machon F12 Gow); cf. Athenaeus 252f–253b (including Demochares *FGH* 75 F1 and Polemon F13 Preller).

¹¹⁰ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow); cf. Gow 1965 ad loc.

¹¹¹ Athenaeus 593a, including Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F90.

¹¹² Plutarch *Moralia* 735d.

¹¹³ Scholiast Theocritus *Idyll* 4.31.

¹¹⁴ Justin 36.4.6; but Yardley 1994 ad loc. curiously reads *Ephesia* as her name, not her ethnic.

¹¹⁵ Athenaeus 557b–e (including Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki) and Justin 9.8.2 and 13.2.11.

¹¹⁶ Athenaeus 453a (including Theophrastus F578 Fortenbaugh).

¹¹⁷ Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8.7.

¹¹⁸ Ogden 1996a, 160.

¹¹⁹ Justin 12.3.10 and Curtius 6.6.8.

¹²⁰ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4).

¹²¹ Asclepiades *Palatine Anthology* 5.210 = Gow and Page 1965: i Asclepiades v (lines 828–31); cf. Pomeroy 1984, 55.

¹²² Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 53.

¹²³ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow).

¹²⁴ Pausanias 5.8.11.

¹²⁵ Eusebius *Chronicles* i 207 Schöne.

¹²⁶ Phlegon of Tralles (?) *Olympic chronology* *FGH* 257a F6 = *P. Oxy.* 2082 lines 6–8. The restorations of ‘Bilistiche’ and ‘Macedonian’ are made by the Oxyrhynchus editor, A.S. Hunt, and considered certain by Fraser 1972, ii 210 n. 206, but Jacoby did not have the confidence to print them. Fraser puts Bilistiche’s victories in 264 and 260.

¹²⁷ Athenaeus 596e; Gulick 1937 ad loc. guesses that Athenaeus might have in mind Dercylus, to whom he refers at 86f.

¹²⁸ Plutarch *Moralia* 753ef.

¹²⁹ Justin 12.3.10.

¹³⁰ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11), Plutarch *Alexander* 38, Diodorus 17.72, Curtius 5.7.2–11 and Justin 15.2. This is omitted by Arrian *Anabasis* 3.18.11 and Strabo C729.

¹³¹ Diogenes Laertius 5.76 (including Favorinus *FHG* iii 578 F8) and Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45–6 Preller).

¹³² Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow).

¹³³ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24.

¹³⁴ Athenaeus 596e; he associates her with Nicarete of Megara, another courtesan of good birth.

¹³⁵ *Zenon Papyri* (ed. Edgar) ii 59289.

¹³⁶ Ijsewijn 1961 no. 71.

- ¹³⁷ Ijsewijn 1961 no. 74; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 49–50.
- ¹³⁸ Wilcken 1927, 74; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 49–50.
- ¹³⁹ Polybius 15.33 for Agathocleia's sisters.
- ¹⁴⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 9 and Diodorus 19.67.1–2.
- ¹⁴¹ Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne.
- ¹⁴² Athenaeus 595a–c, including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253.
- ¹⁴³ Polybius 20.8; see chapter 5.
- ¹⁴⁴ See Schneider 1913, 1358–72 for a review of traditional courtesan-names and nicknames in the Greek world.
- ¹⁴⁵ Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4 and Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4) and Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15.
- ¹⁴⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 and Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow).
- ¹⁴⁷ Athenaeus 576cf (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4); cf. Hauben 1975, 290 and Pomeroy 1984, 53.
- ¹⁴⁸ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14 Gow); see Gow 1965 ad loc. (p. 97) for many examples of the Phrygian names Mānes (m.: e.g. Herodotus 1.94) and Mānia (f.: e.g. Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.1.10) and their servile use in Attica.
- ¹⁴⁹ Athenaeus 578a–589d, including Machon F14 Gow.
- ¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., Alciphron 4.3–5 and 14, and of course Plautus *Bacchides*.
- ¹⁵¹ Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4) and 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F30).
- ¹⁵² Cf. Gow 1965 on Machon F14.
- ¹⁵³ Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5.
- ¹⁵⁴ Athenaeus 593ab.
- ¹⁵⁵ Athenaeus 576ef.
- ¹⁵⁶ See Fraser and Rönne 1957, 135 no. 15 and 166–7 and Gow 1965 pp. 94–5.
- ¹⁵⁷ Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.3.1 etc. Note that at Aristophanes *Wasps* 1035 the creature curiously has 'unwashed testicles'.
- ¹⁵⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ¹⁵⁹ Athenaeus 558a–e (including Anaxilas *Neottis* F22 K–A). Cf. Alciphron 4.12, where *Leaina* claims that she would rather look at the *Chimaera* (i.e. Plangon, in view of the Anaxilas passage?) than Philodemus' new bride, and sleep with a toad (*phrynos*: i.e. Phryne?). Cf. Schneider 1913, 1357 and 1360 for monster-names for courtesans.
- ¹⁶⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ¹⁶¹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow [at line 170]).
- ¹⁶² Gow 1965 ad loc.
- ¹⁶³ Athenaeus 576cd (including Idomeneus *FHG* ii 491 F5).
- ¹⁶⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 (including *adespota* F698 K–A).
- ¹⁶⁵ Suda s.v. *hetairai Korinthiai*.
- ¹⁶⁶ Athenaeus 596f and Pausanias 1.23.1–2 etc.; cf. Geyer 1925c and Gow 1965 on Machon F12.
- ¹⁶⁷ Hermesianax at Powell 1925, 96–106, F1–12; cf. Athenaeus 597a.
- ¹⁶⁸ Alciphron 4.17.

¹⁶⁹ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow); cf. Scholiast Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 231 for the sex-position.

¹⁷⁰ Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow) and Eustathius on *Iliad* 21.79.

¹⁷¹ Asclepiades/Poseidippus *Palatine anthology* 5.202 = Gow and Page 1965 Asclepiades no. 35, with commentary ad loc. For Asclepiades in general see, in addition to Gow and Page, Fraser 1972 especially i 556–68, Garrison 1978, 48–61 and Hutchinson 1988, 264–76.

¹⁷² Asclepiades *Palatine anthology* 5.203 = Gow and Page 1965 Asclepiades no. 6, with commentary ad loc.

¹⁷³ Homer *Iliad* 1.111 etc.

¹⁷⁴ For the significance of her name see in particular Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13–14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne.

¹⁷⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24.

¹⁷⁶ Pausanias 5.8.11, Plutarch *Moralia* 753ef, Clement Protrepticus 4.42 and Eusebius *Chronicles* i 207 Schöne.

¹⁷⁷ *Zenon Papyri* (ed. Edgar) ii 59289.

¹⁷⁸ Livy 34.10; cf. Bevan 1927, 77.

¹⁷⁹ See Kalléris 1954–76, ii 329–461, especially 366 with n. 2. The attempts of Pape and Benseler 1911 s.v. and Schneider 1913, 1363 to relate the name to *heilissō*, 'roll', seem desperate.

¹⁸⁰ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4).

¹⁸¹ Polybius 15.25–33 etc.

¹⁸² Athenaeus 593ab.

¹⁸³ Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5 and Diodorus 33.13.

¹⁸⁴ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11).

¹⁸⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24.

¹⁸⁶ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13–14 = Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237–8 Schöne etc.

¹⁸⁷ Alciphron 4.16 etc.

¹⁸⁸ Plutarch *Aratus* 54.7.

¹⁸⁹ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2).

¹⁹⁰ Athenaeus 593a (including Nicolaus of Damascus *FGH* 90 F90).

Chapter 10

COURTESANS AT WORK

Courtesans at work

The chief forum in which the courtesans are portrayed as operating is the symposium. Most of the pieces of courtesans' wit recounted by Athenaeus occur in symposia, such as various tales of Mania,¹ and the tale of Hippe.² Sometimes the symposium setting can be integral to the tale: we are to suppose that Thais' demand that Persepolis be burned would have had little effect if she had not been speaking to drunken symposiasts.³ (It is surprising how little explicit evidence there is in general for courtesans at Alexander's fabled symposia, beyond the episodes involving Thais.)⁴ Plutarch considers the 'women's' take-over of Philopator's kingdom—i.e. that by Oenanthe and Agathocleia—to be due to the fact that the king had fallen into drunkenness.⁵

Many of the courtesans are associated with musical specialisations appropriate to the symposium. A number are said to have played the flute (*aulos*): Philadelphus' Mnesis and Potheine,⁶ Demetrius Poliorcetes' Lamia⁷ and Boa, the mother of Philetaerus.⁸ Diodorus speaks of the presence of female musicians, with flutes and pan-pipes (*auloi* and *syringes*) at the burning of Persepolis: Thais was their leader and perhaps also one of them.⁹ Others are said to have been string-players of one sort or another. The most distinguished of all the courtesans as musicians was Philadelphus' Glauce: her playing of the harp (*cithara*)¹⁰ was so sweet that, perhaps in combination with her physical beauty, it made animals fall in love with her. For Pliny the animal concerned was a goose;¹¹ for Theophrastus, as quoted by the Scholiast to Theocritus, and Plutarch it was a ram;¹² Aelian knows the variants of dog, ram and goose.¹³ A late hellenistic vase apparently illustrates Glauce's harp-playing in the act of attracting the goose.¹⁴ Justin says that Aristonicus' courtesan-mother was the daughter of a *cithara*-player,¹⁵ while Plutarch's text, which is perhaps corrupt, appears to say that he was the son of a (male) *cithara*-player.¹⁶ For Jerome Philopator's Agathocleia was a harp-player (*psaltria*: the *psaltinx* was the same thing as a *cithara*);¹⁷ for Polybius she was more specifically a *sambyca*-player (a *sambyca* was a four-stringed triangular instrument).¹⁸ Mithridates'

Stratonice was presumably a *cithara*-player, since she was the daughter of a *psaltēs*.¹⁹ Oenante, however, was said to have played the tambourine (*tympanon*);²⁰ Justin also refers to Philopator's debaucheries as involving tambourines and rattles (*tympana* and *crepundia*).²¹ Philadelphus' Aglais, if she may be considered a courtesan, was distinguished for a non-symptotic instrument, the trumpet.²²

The symposium needed other specialisations too. Plutarch apparently claims that Philadelphus' Aristonica and Philopator's Oenante and Agathocleia were also dancing girls (*orchēstrides*).²³ Philip II's Thessalian Philinna was also said to be a dancing-girl (*orchēstris*²⁴ or *saltatrix*).²⁵ Thessaly was famous for its dancing girls (a fact which no doubt determined Philinna's representation as such): Antigonus Gonatas displayed Thessalian girls dancing only in loin-cloths (*diazōstrai*) at his court.²⁶ Philadelphus' Myrtion is similarly said to have been a mime-actress (*deiktērias*).²⁷

The specialisation of Philadelphus' Cleino was non-musical, but one that still belonged in the symposium: she was Ptolemy's cup-bearer; indeed it was in this role that she was immortalised in her statues, which portrayed her with a drinking horn in her hand (and girt appropriately in only a tunic).²⁸ It is interesting, in view of the fact that Agathocles is said to have been a sexual partner of Philopator's, that he occupied the role of cup-bearer to him, at any rate according to the allegation of Tlepolemos as relayed by Polybius.²⁹ Cup-bearing was indeed a traditional role for catamites: most famously, Ganymede was cup-bearer to Zeus.³⁰

The only non-sex or -symposium-related job ascribed to a *hetaira* is to be found in Tlepolemos' allegation that either Oenante or Agathocleia (context leaves it unclear which) was a hairdresser.³¹

Although symposiac specialisations were typical of non-royal courtesans, it is a little curious that the royal ones practised them too, given that they seem to have been born for the most part from good families, and are not likely to have been reared to be courtesans.

But the principal part of a courtesan's job was of course to provide sex. A number of sexual positions are associated with the hellenistic royal courtesans. We hear of Lamia performing the *kelēs* ('riding-horse') with Demetrius Poliorcetes.³² Gnathainion too was associated with the position.³³ One wonders whether the horse names given to some courtesans, such as Hippe and Callippa, were intended as allusions to this position, as opposed to, or perhaps as well as, suggesting aristocratic birth (see above).

The name of Demetrius Poliorcetes' courtesan Leaina ('Lion') may

have been intended to evoke the sexual position of the same name, perhaps equivalent to our 'doggy style'.³⁴ In the passage relating to Lamia just mentioned,³⁵ she makes a joke which plays on the name of Leaina and on the sexual position. This same fragment, incidentally, also suggests the possibility of troilism.

Machon told a tale in accordance with which Mania permitted Demetrius to bugger her.³⁶ However, this was clearly a special favour, since Demetrius himself had to plead for it and do her a favour in return. In the same fragment we are told that Mania denied anal sex to a *ponēros* guest. That buggery was something special, and to be sought after, is suggested by Aristophanes' remarks on the courtesans of Corinth, to the effect that they paid no attention to the poor men that approached them, but when a rich man approached, they immediately turned their rears to him.³⁷

The kings are sometimes portrayed as enjoying the company of more than one of their courtesans at the same time. It is the implication of various sources that Philopator saw Agathocleia and her mother Oenante at the same time.³⁸ Some of the jokey banter that the tradition preserves for Demetrius Poliorcetes' courtesans places the courtesans together at the same symposium and sometimes possibly even in the same bedroom: thus a tale told by Plutarch has Demo/Mania at a dinner with Demetrius Poliorcetes at which Lamia is playing the flute (Demo/Mania abuses her as a crone);³⁹ one of the witticisms of Lamia preserved by Machon seems to have invited Leaina to join in her love-making with Demetrius.⁴⁰ Justin's vague reference to Balas being kept prisoner in his palace by 'flocks' (*greges*) of whores suggests that he may have enjoyed the company of many at the same time.⁴¹

One of the most distinctive features of royal and other courtesans in the tradition is their wit and jokiness at table or in bed; this comes across strongly in the work of Machon and the other authors preserved by Athenaeus, such as Lynceus of Samos, and in Plutarch's *Demetrius*. The courtesans—notably Lamia, Mania/Melitta and Hippe—are repeatedly shown in witty repartee with their kings, and they evidently enjoyed licence of speech at court.⁴²

The courtesans of the circle of Demetrius are credited with some learning and taste, specifically in the area of drama.⁴³ Thus the punchline of Lamia's joke about Leaina parodies a line from Euripides' *Medea*.⁴⁴ The line by which Mania finally permits Demetrius to bugger her, 'Son of Agamemnon, now are you permitted those things', is a parody of a line from the beginning of Sophocles' *Electra*.⁴⁵ Gnathaina is shown not merely to be able to make witty adaptations of

famous lines from tragedies, but also to express critical views on drama. She is more than once recorded as criticising the comedies of her lover Diphilus as 'frigid'.⁴⁶

Religious and public roles

Significant religious roles could be assigned to the royal courtesans. That they were given any degree of religious participation is itself significant, since there may have been a tendency to exclude courtesans from religious participation in the Greek world generally.⁴⁷

In Egypt Bilistiche served as the eponymous canephore of Arsinoë II in 251/0,⁴⁸ which was perhaps the most exalted annual religious role for a woman in Alexandria.⁴⁹ Agathocleia too took on this role in 213/12.⁵⁰ This is particularly interesting because it is probable that, as at Athens, Alexandrian canephores were supposed to be virgins. Yet other evidence suggests that both Bilistiche and Agathocleia were established mistresses when they held the office. Bilistiche was presumably well over 30 in 251, since she had been winning races at Olympia since at least the mid-sixties (see above). Agathocleia was presumably adult at any rate when canephore because she is attested as owning ships in 215.⁵¹ In due course Bilistiche came to be worshipped by the Alexandrians in shrines and temples dedicated to Aphrodite Bilistiche. Plutarch implies that the practice continued in his own day.⁵² Clement tells that she was buried under the temple of Sarapis on the Racotis promontory after she had died at Canopus.⁵³

Athenaeus tells that Demetrius Poliorcetes similarly established temples to two of his courtesans, Aphrodite Leaina and Aphrodite Lamia, alongside shrines to his parasites.⁵⁴ Lamia had shown herself a devotee of Aphrodite during her life, for the notoriously extravagant dinner she prepared for Demetrius was to celebrate the *Aphrodisia*.⁵⁵ It is possible that Lamia's daughter Phila was also given a temple in her own right.⁵⁶

The practice of worshipping courtesans as goddesses, and specifically as Aphrodite, goes back to Harpalus. Athenaeus, quoting Theopompus, tells that Harpalus spent 200 talents in erecting two monuments to Pythionice after her death, one in Athens and one in Babylon (yet none for all the men who died fighting for Alexander and the liberty of Greece under his command), and that he established for her in the aspect of Aphrodite Pythionice a sacred enclosure with a temple and an altar. He set up bronze portraits of his second courtesan Glycera at Rhossus in Syria, and permitted her to be worshipped, apparently during her lifetime, by the people.⁵⁷

The dedication of temples to individual mortal courtesans may at first sight appear an outrageous decadence, but it can be contextualised more soberly. Aphrodite was quite commonly worshipped in her aspect of patroness of courtesans. Solon had established a temple to Aphrodite Pandemos ('Of all the people') from a tax on brothels.⁵⁸ Aphrodite Pornē ('Whore') had a temple at Abydos.⁵⁹ And there were many shrines to Aphrodite Hetaira.⁶⁰ The temple of Aphrodite in Corinth is notorious for having been attended by 1,000 courtesans.⁶¹ Again we note that the kings of Macedon (no doubt specifically the Antigonids) used to celebrate a *Hetairideia*.⁶²

The most interesting information about Lamia in the religious sphere is provided by Clement. He tells that Demetrius had planned to marry Athena, but rejected her on the (bizarre) ground that he could not marry her statue (presumably the Parthenos). Demetrius then went up to the acropolis with Lamia and had sex with her in Athena's 'bridal chamber' (*pastos*), and in so doing displayed the sexual positions of the young courtesan to the old virgin.⁶³ Plutarch tells that the Athenians assigned Demetrius the back room of the Parthenon to live in and adds that it was said that Athena received (*hypodechesthai*) him there and gave him hospitality, although he did not behave properly before the virgin. He quotes the comic poet Philippides as saying that Demetrius turned the acropolis into a brothel, and took his courtesans in to meet the virgin goddess.⁶⁴ If we strip off the layers of malice, propaganda and humour here it is tempting to imagine that the sex Demetrius had with Lamia was not intended as a casual act of sacrilegious debauchery, but as a ceremonial and sacred act. Demetrius perhaps did accomplish his 'marriage' with Athena, with Lamia taking on symbolically the role of the goddess. In introducing Lamia to the goddess, she would temporarily have come to embody her. This would have been a kind of 'sacred marriage' (*hieros gamos*), a common Greek fertility rite in which one partner comes to embody a deity during a ceremonial sexual congress.⁶⁵ We can point to a possible example of a sacred marriage similar to that between Demetrius and Lamia earlier in Athenian history: in 552 the returning tyrant Pisistratus had been escorted to the acropolis in a chariot by a statuesque Athenian girl, Phye, dressed as and pretending to be Athena.⁶⁶ Indeed we are told that Phye did then marry, not Pisistratus himself, but his son Hipparchus.⁶⁷ It is an easy assumption that an august, symbolic and respectful ceremony of this nature underlies the more lurid claims of Plutarch and Philippides about more generalised debaucheries on the acropolis, involving the courtesans, Chrysis, Demo and Anticyra,

Athenian citizenwomen and free-born boys. We may wonder also whether the joke purportedly made by Lysimachus and relayed by Phylarchus about Lamia being a whore playing a tragic part relates to this particular job of impersonation.⁶⁸ If we are right about this 'sacred marriage', then its most surprising aspect is that Demetrius chose to perform it with a courtesan as opposed to a favoured wife, such as Phila. Perhaps the crucial thing was that Lamia was an Athenian citizen. Even so, this speaks of a high position of honour for her.

Athenaeus, referring to Ptolemy of Megalopolis and Polybius, says that Ptolemy Philadelphus put up statues of his courtesan Cleino all over Alexandria, in which images she wore only a tunic and held a drinking horn in her hand.⁶⁹ Pomeroy argues that she was intended to symbolise the goddess Philadelphia, though her reason for believing this is unclear.⁷⁰

The courtesans do not seem to have usually had any public roles other than religious ones. It is unclear whether we are to take seriously Justin's claim that Oenanthe and Agathocleia actually made public appearances, received salutations and distributed military and political offices under Ptolemy Philopator.⁷¹ The more trustworthy Polybius' reference to Oenanthe's lictors (this actually after the death of Philopator) may suggest that she was in the habit of making formal public appearances.⁷² That a king's courtesans could be recognised by foreign states is suggested by the fact that Seleucus II's courtesan Mysta disguised herself in rags after his defeat by the Galatians and was sold as a slave to Rhodes, whereupon she was able to persuade the Rhodians of her identity and have herself escorted back to Syria in due style.⁷³

The courtesans were often associated with monuments, erected by themselves or by others. We have already considered the temples put up to the various individuals. They could also be given elaborate funerary monuments or tombs. The most notorious of these was that of Harpalus' Pythionice, which was supposedly and scandalously the grandest tomb by far in Attica.⁷⁴ Philadelphus' Stratonice had a great funerary memorial erected to her at Eleusis in Egypt.⁷⁵ An implausible claim has been made that this has been found.⁷⁶ Statues of Philadelphus' Cleino were erected around Alexandria, as we have seen, and Harpalus put up a bronze portrait of his Glycera at Rhossus.⁷⁷ This last phenomenon can be contextualised against the general trend for hellenistic artists to use distinguished courtesans as models for their works of art: Apelles famously used Phryne as the model for his painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene, and Praxiteles used her as the model for his Aphrodite of Cnidus (here then was another way in

which courtesans could become assimilated to Aphrodite), as well as sculpting her in her own right;⁷⁸ and in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* we find Theodote sitting for a painting.⁷⁹

Perhaps more interesting than these is the one monument we know to have been put up by a courtesan: Lamia built a Painted Stoa (*Stoa Poikilē*) in the new Sicyon (as refounded by her own Demetrius as Demetrias). This was a distinguished enough edifice for Polemon to have devoted a book to it, *On the Painted Stoa in Sicyon*.⁸⁰ Griffin speculates that it was in this stoa that paintings by the fourth-century Sicyonian masters were displayed.⁸¹ It seems particularly appropriate that a courtesan should have been the donor of such a highly decorated building. Plutarch records that the abuse of Pericles' acropolis building programme by his opponents had likened the more moderately decorated Parthenon to a deceitful or pretentious woman painting her face, in an apparent side-swipe at his courtesan Aspasia.⁸²

It is possible that some of the information that came into the literary tradition about the courtesans was derived from such monuments, or was associated with them, but there is no extant graven evidence for royal courtesans, verbal or pictorial. In addition to the monuments already mentioned, we can suppose that Bilistiche's name once appeared in the inscribed version of the Olympic victory lists, much as that of Thais' son Lagus survives in the inscription recording Lycaean victors.⁸³ Also, the epitaph in the Palatine anthology composed by Theocritus 'on the girl Glauce, who was a courtesan', may well have been intended for or even culled from the tombstone of Philadelphus' mistress of that name.⁸⁴

The royal courtesans are sometimes shown to act in consciousness of their place in history, and to attempt to construct for themselves memorials in popular tradition. As Alciphron's Lamia lays on her fabulous dinner for Demetrius Poliorcetes she is aware that all Greece will talk about it.⁸⁵ In Alexandria Philadelphus' courtesans Myrtion, Mnesis and Potheine were remembered in the names of houses,⁸⁶ whilst Aristomenes named his daughter for Philopator's Agathocleia.⁸⁷ Thais was conscious when she burned down Persepolis that her action would be remembered by future generations, as Plutarch's account makes clear.⁸⁸ This is an interesting case. The readily intelligible part of her intention is her wish to avenge Athens for its sack by the Persians in 480. But she had other designs too. According to Plutarch she wanted future generations to know that the women who were with Alexander had taken greater revenge on Greece's behalf than all the great male commanders and armies of previous years.⁸⁹ The motive

expressed here (which may well be Plutarch's fancy) appears to be a broadly feminist one, one designed to express the equivalent if not superior role taken by women in avenging the wrongs done to Greece. But the account of Diodorus gives a different emphasis: the torching of Persepolis by women's hands is here rather intended to be a final mocking insult to the Persians—their great and famous achievements are to be brought to nothing by the casual and playful act of a mere woman.⁹⁰ Although Curtius does not explicitly state that Thais' courtesan-status intensified the insult, he did perhaps intend a message of this sort, since he harps on about the drunkenness and disreputableness of Thais and her fellow courtesans.⁹¹

Morality

The enslavement and leading astray of the kings by their courtesans are recurring themes in the tradition. According to Diogenes Laertius, the philosopher Diogenes, who died around the same time as Alexander, had been in the habit of referring to kings' *hetairai* as 'queens' (*basilissai*), since they could make their kings do whatever they wanted.⁹² Polybius tells that Agathocleia enslaved Philopator.⁹³ Plutarch adds that Oenante and Agathocleia metaphorically 'trampled on his crown',⁹⁴ and that they (and perhaps other women too) undertook the important matters of state whilst he wallowed in a drunken stupor.⁹⁵ Justin asserts that they rendered Philopator the least powerful man in his own kingdom, whilst they themselves distributed political and military offices to their favourites.⁹⁶ So great was Agathocleia's supposed influence over Philopator that he became known among the Ptolemies as 'he of Agathocleia'.⁹⁷ Justin tells of Alexander Balas that he was kept a virtual prisoner in his own palace by his unexpected wealth and the allurements of his courtesans.⁹⁸ Plutarch tells that Lamia 'conquered' (*ekratēse*) Demetrius Poliorcetes by her grace.⁹⁹ In the letter that Alciphron composed for her she plays on Demetrius' epithet of 'Besieger', promising to 'take him by storm' (perhaps there is some awareness here of the *helepolis* epithet applied to her by an anonymous comic poet).¹⁰⁰

Courtesans often 'maddened' their kings too. Thus, when Thais persuaded Alexander and his court to embark upon the rash act of burning Persepolis, Diodorus tells that they were seized by a 'madness' (*lyssa*).¹⁰¹ Again it is significant that the originally Phrygian name *Mānia* could be read as *mania*, 'madness', which was doubtless why it became a popular one for courtesans, such as the one associated with Demetrius Poliorcetes.¹⁰² It may be significant too that Polybius

branded the supposedly debauched Antiochus IV Epiphanes rather as *Epimanēs*, 'Mad'.¹⁰³ Courtesans could similarly be portrayed as a disease. Justin describes Agathocleia's and Oenanthe's take-over of Philopator's palace through the metaphor of disease (*pestis*).¹⁰⁴ More light-heartedly, Antigonus Monophthalmos wryly compared Demetrius Poliorcetes' latest courtesan to a fever.¹⁰⁵

Allegations that kings were 'enslaved' or 'maddened' by courtesans were not made completely arbitrarily. They stemmed from widely held notions about the relationship between power and morality in the Greek world, notions which had been established since the classical period. It was commonly believed that one could not be fit to exercise mastery over others unless one could first exercise mastery over oneself, i.e., one could control one's physical appetites or passions. Mastery over oneself and one's appetites was expressed by the terms *sōphrosynē* and *enkrateia*; its lack was expressed by the term *akrasia*, if it was involuntary, and *akolasia* if it was voluntary. Hence, those who involved themselves with courtesans or alcohol necessarily enslaved themselves to their passion for sex or alcohol, and this in turn led to their more general enslavement to their courtesans or to others around them.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, when we are told that Philopator, after reaching the lowest depth of his depravity, ceased to be a spectator to the debaucheries of his courtesans, but himself became the conductor of their rites, Philopator's assumption of leadership paradoxically signifies the final totality of his enslavement.¹⁰⁷

The courtesans were themselves as much slaves to their passions as the kings that fell under their spell. Their lack of self-mastery was repeatedly advertised by their greed for sex, food and in particular money, and in their corresponding excessive wastefulness. Lamia's greed for money is best indicated by the tale of her commentary on the judgement of Bocchoris, in which she displayed such sympathy with a courtesan's almost insatiable desire for money.¹⁰⁸ Agathocleia and Oenanthe displayed their greed for money in pretending that the dead Philopator was still alive so that they could plunder his treasury.¹⁰⁹ Greed for food is perhaps demonstrated by the tale Athenaeus quotes from Philippides about Gnathaina greedily gulping down testicles.¹¹⁰ It is apparently significant that her name is built on the word *gnathos*, 'jaw'. Philadelphus' Aglais, if she was his courtesan, had a monstrous appetite: she would eat, presumably at one sitting, twelve minas of meat and four *choinikes* of wheat and wash it down with a pitcher of wine.¹¹¹

The courtesans, it was felt, typically led their kings astray by enticing them to join them in such wastefulness. Pythionice had even in death contrived to persuade her lover Harpalus to squander 200 talents on funerary memorials for her.¹¹² Thais' enticement of Alexander to burn the palace at Persepolis was a supreme act of wastefulness. The point is particularly well made by Diodorus, who draws a contrast between the casual act of a woman's hand and the great achievements of the Persians that it destroyed.¹¹³ The citizens of Tarsus and Mallus certainly felt that their money was being outrageously squandered when Antiochus IV assigned the revenues of their cities to the maintenance of his concubine Antiochis.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the most dramatic examples of wastefulness in connection with a royal courtesan are those associated with Lamia: the supposed squandering of 250 talents harshly levied from the Athenians (or Thessalians) on cosmetics for Lamia and her fellow courtesans.

Lamia's exaction of money from the Athenian people to fund the extravagant dinner she provided for Demetrius earned her the epithet of 'City-taker' (*helepolis*) from an anonymous comic poet.¹¹⁵ The description of this dinner by Lynceus of Samos in his *Deipnētikai epistolai* ('Banquet letters') was apparently well read in antiquity, and it is cited by both Plutarch and Athenaeus:¹¹⁶ the former tells that Lamia exacted money from the Athenians for it on her own account and the latter writes that it was distinguished by the fact that its guests were eating all sorts of fish and flesh from the moment they entered the dining room. The letter that Alciphron composes for Lamia to Demetrius invites the king to a dinner, and the obvious assumption is that the dinner in question is this famous one.¹¹⁷ Alciphron's Lamia discreetly asks Demetrius himself to provide money for the dinner, which apparently contradicts Plutarch's account of the dinner's finances (if it is to be considered the same one). Alciphron's dinner is to celebrate, appropriately, the festival of Aphrodite, the *Aphrodisia*. Curiously, it is to take place neither in Lamia's house nor in Demetrius', but in the house of a Therippidion, who would appear to be another courtesan. In this letter Lamia is shown to be self-conscious and indeed proud of the level of luxury of the forthcoming dinner, and she contrasts the humanity of such comforts with Spartan austerity.

One of the agendas of the source tradition in dwelling upon the courtesans of the kings is to imply that they were unfit to control others because they were unable (*akrasia*) or unwilling (*akolasia*) to exercise control over their own desires and passions. But the kings did to some extent consciously exploit the popular moral associations

between 'decadence' (*tryphē*) and power to give out a paradoxical message: only one with vast reserves of wealth and power could afford to squander so much of it. In other words, the greater the number of courtesans the king kept, and the more lavishly he kept and treated them, the greater the distance between his level of wealth and power and that of his subjects. Abundance could appear divine. The message given out was perhaps similar to that given out by polygamy itself.¹¹⁸ The active and positive appropriation of the connotations of luxury (*tryphē*) by the hellenistic kings is well demonstrated by the fact that two of them took on a name derived from it, *Tryphōn*, 'Luxurious': Ptolemy VIII and the Seleucid usurper Diodotus.¹¹⁹

Notes

¹ e.g. Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F15).

² Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow); cf. Eustathius on *Iliad* 21.79.

³ Plutarch *Alexander* 38, Diodorus 17.72 and Curtius 5.7.2–11.

⁴ There are general references at Curtius 6.2.1–5 and Athenaeus 539a; cf. Borza 1983, 50–1.

⁵ Plutarch *Cleomenes* 33.

⁶ Athenaeus 576ef (including Polybius 14.11.2). The description of Potheine as a flute-player depends upon MS C of Athenaeus.

⁷ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16 and 27, Athenaeus 101e (quoting Lynceus of Samos), 128b (quoting Lynceus of Samos), 577c–f (including Machon F13 Gow) and 614ef (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12) and Alciphron 4.16.

⁸ Athenaeus 577b (including Carystius of Pergamum *FHG* iv p. 358 F12).

⁹ Diodorus 17.72.

¹⁰ For her instrument as a cithara, see Plutarch *Moralia* 397a and 972f, Aelian *Nature of animals* 1.6, 5.29 (including Theophrastus F567b Fortenbaugh) and 8.11 and *Varia historia* 9.39 and Pliny *Natural history* 10.51. The scholiast to Theocritus 4.31 describes her more vaguely as a *kroumatopoiios*.

¹¹ Pliny *Natural history* 10.51.

¹² Scholiast Theocritus *Idyll* 4.31 (including Theophrastus F567c Fortenbaugh) and Plutarch *Moralia* 972f.

¹³ Aelian *Nature of animals* 1.6 and 5.92; cf. Maas 1912, Gow 1952, ii pp. 83 and 546–7, Gow and Page 1965, ii pp. 296–7, Fraser 1972, i 558, 573 and ii 818 n. 165 and Davidson 1997, 73–108.

¹⁴ See Thompson 1964.

¹⁵ Justin 36.4.6.

¹⁶ Plutarch *Flaminius* 21.

¹⁷ Jerome *In Daniele* 11.13–14 (including Porphyry *FGH* 260 F45).

¹⁸ Polybius 15.25.

¹⁹ Plutarch *Pompey* 36.

²⁰ Plutarch *Moralia* 753d.

- ²¹ Justin 30.1.
- ²² Athenaeus 415ab and Aelian *Varia historia* 1.26.
- ²³ Plutarch *Moralia* 735d.
- ²⁴ Athenaeus 577f–578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4).
- ²⁵ Justin 9.8.2.
- ²⁶ Athenaeus 607c–f (including Persaeus of Citium *Sympotika hypomnēmata* at Arnim 1923–38 [SVF] F451).
- ²⁷ Athenaeus 576ef (including Polybius 14.11.2).
- ²⁸ Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F3 and Polybius 14.11.1) and 576ef (including Polybius 14.11.2).
- ²⁹ Polybius 15.25.
- ³⁰ Homer *Iliad* 20.234 and Athenaeus 566d etc.; cf. Sergent 1987, 205–13.
- ³¹ Polybius 15.25. Cf. Cleopatra VII's Eiras: [Plutarch] at Leutsch et al. 1839–51 (*CPG*) Supplement vol. iii no. 45.
- ³² Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow).
- ³³ Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F17 Gow).
- ³⁴ For which see Scholiast Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 231; cf. Henderson 1991, 179–80.
- ³⁵ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow).
- ³⁶ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F15 Gow).
- ³⁷ Aristophanes *Wealth* 149–52; cf. Suda s.v. *hetairai Korinthiai*. See Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F16. Gow) for a boy's request to bugger Gnathaina.
- ³⁸ Plutarch *Moralia* 735d etc.
- ³⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ⁴⁰ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow).
- ⁴¹ Justin 30.2.2.
- ⁴² Hippe: Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow) and Eustathius on *Iliad* 21.79. Lamia: Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12–13 Gow). Mania/Melitta: Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 and Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F15 Gow).
- ⁴³ The 'wisdom' of the *hetairai* portrayed by Athenaeus is down-played by Hawley 1993, 77–9.
- ⁴⁴ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Machon F12 Gow), parodying Euripides *Medea* 1358; cf. Gow 1965 ad loc.
- ⁴⁵ Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F15 Gow), parodying Sophocles *Electra* 2; cf. Gow 1965 ad loc.
- ⁴⁶ Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F16 Gow and quoting Lynceus of Samos); cf. Schneider 1913, 1358 and Reinsberg 1993, 85.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. Ogden 1996a, 369.
- ⁴⁸ *Zenon Papyri* (ed. Edgar) ii 59289; Ijsewijn 1961 no. 35. Cf. Fraser 1972, ii 210 n. 206 and Pomeroy 1984, 57.
- ⁴⁹ See Pomeroy 1984, 55–9.
- ⁵⁰ *P. Grad.* 16 lines 1–3 etc.; Ijsewijn 1961 no. 74; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 57.
- ⁵¹ *P. Strasburg* i 562–3 and ii 113; see Hauben 1975 and Clarysse 1976.
- ⁵² Plutarch *Moralia* 753ef.
- ⁵³ Clement *Protrepticus* 4.42.

- ⁵⁴ Athenaeus 252f–253b (including Demochares *FGH* 75 F1); cf. Reinsberg 1993, 161.
- ⁵⁵ Alciphron 4.16; cf. Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 (quoting Lynceus of Samos).
- ⁵⁶ Athenaeus 255c, with Geyer 1925a, 547; see chapter 6.
- ⁵⁷ Athenaeus 595a–c (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253).
- ⁵⁸ Athenaeus 569d (quoting Nicander); cf. Plato *Symposium* 180d and Xenophon *Symposium* 8.9; cf. Schneider 1913, 1332–3 and 1356.
- ⁵⁹ Athenaeus 572ef (including Neanthes of Cyzicus *FGH* 84 F9 and quoting Pamphilus); cf. Schneider 1913, 1340.
- ⁶⁰ Athenaeus 559ab (including Philetaerus *Korinthiastes* F5 K–A), 571c and 572d–573b (including Philetaerus *Kynagis* F8 K–A, Eualces *Ephesiaka* *FGH* 418 F2 and Clearchus *Erotika* *FHG* ii 314 F34) and Hesychius s.v. *hetairas hieron*.
- ⁶¹ Athenaeus 573c–574c and 588c; cf. Schneider 1913, 1333–4.
- ⁶² Athenaeus 572de (including Hegesander *Hypomnemata* *FHG* iv p. 418 F25).
- ⁶³ Clement *Protrepticus* 4.48.
- ⁶⁴ Plutarch *Demetrius* 24 and 26 (including Philippides F25 K–A).
- ⁶⁵ Burkert 1985, 132–4.
- ⁶⁶ Herodotus 1.60 and *Ath. Pol.* 14.
- ⁶⁷ Athenaeus 609cd (including Cleidemus *FGH* 323 F15); cf. Boardman 1972, Connor 1987 and Stern 1989, 13.
- ⁶⁸ Athenaeus 614ef (including Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12) and Plutarch *Demetrius* 25.
- ⁶⁹ Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F3 and Polybius 14.11).
- ⁷⁰ Pomeroy 1984, 54.
- ⁷¹ Justin 30.2.
- ⁷² Polybius 15.29.
- ⁷³ Athenaeus 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* F81 F30).
- ⁷⁴ Athenaeus 595a–596a, including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F248 and F253, Plutarch *Phocion* 22 and *Moralia* 401a (quoting Crates), Diodorus 17.108 and Pausanias 1.37.4.
- ⁷⁵ Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy Physcon *FGH* 234 F4).
- ⁷⁶ Botti 1899, 57–60; cf. Fraser 1972, ii 92 n. 204.
- ⁷⁷ Athenaeus 595ad (including Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253).
- ⁷⁸ Athenaeus 590f–591c; cf. 585f (quoting Lynceus of Samos); cf. Schneider 1913, 1338 and 1354–5, Reinsberg 1993, 154 and Davidson 1997, 73–136.
- ⁷⁹ Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.11.
- ⁸⁰ Athenaeus 577c–f (including Polemon F45–6 Preller).
- ⁸¹ Griffin 1982, 152.
- ⁸² Plutarch *Pericles* 12; cf. Powell 1995.
- ⁸³ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 314 B v line 7.
- ⁸⁴ Theocritus *Palatine anthology* 7.262 = Gow 1952 no. 23 and Gow and Page 1965 Theocritus no. 23.
- ⁸⁵ Alciphron 4.16.
- ⁸⁶ Athenaeus 576ef (including Polybius 4.11.2).
- ⁸⁷ Polybius 15.31.
- ⁸⁸ Plutarch *Alexander* 38.

- ⁸⁹ Plutarch *Alexander* 38.
- ⁹⁰ Diodorus 17.72. The effeminacy of the Persians was in any case a commonplace for the Greeks: see, e.g., Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.8.
- ⁹¹ Curtius 5.7.2–11.
- ⁹² Diogenes Laertius 6.63.
- ⁹³ Athenaeus 576b (including Polybius 14.11.2).
- ⁹⁴ Plutarch *Moralia* 735d.
- ⁹⁵ Plutarch *Cleomenes* 33.
- ⁹⁶ Justin 30.2.
- ⁹⁷ Strabo C795.
- ⁹⁸ Justin 35.2.2.
- ⁹⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16.
- ¹⁰⁰ Alciphron 4.16; cf. Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 (including *adespota* F698 K–A).
- ¹⁰¹ Diodorus 17.72.
- ¹⁰² Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Machon F14) etc.
- ¹⁰³ Athenaeus 45c (including Heliodorus *FHG* iv p. 425 and Polybius 26.1), 193d and 439a. We know of one concubine at any rate of his, Antiochis: 2 *Maccabees* 4.30.
- ¹⁰⁴ Justin 30.1.
- ¹⁰⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 19.
- ¹⁰⁶ Foucault 1985, 63–77 (part 1, chapter 3) and Dover 1974, 208–9 etc. Some key texts here are Isocrates 2.29–32 and Polybius 2.64 and 18.38.
- ¹⁰⁷ Justin 30.1.
- ¹⁰⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27.
- ¹⁰⁹ Justin 30.2. Among non-royal courtesans Gnathainion was distinguished for her greed for money: Athenaeus 578e–585b (including Machon F17 Gow).
- ¹¹⁰ Athenaeus 384f, including Philippides *Ananeousa* F5 K–A.
- ¹¹¹ Athenaeus 415ab and Aelian *Varia historia* 1.26.
- ¹¹² Athenaeus 595a–c, including Theopompus F115 F253.
- ¹¹³ Athenaeus 576de (including Cleitarchus *FGH* 137 F11), Plutarch *Alexander* 38, Curtius 5.7.2–11 and Diodorus 17.72.
- ¹¹⁴ 2 *Maccabees* 4.30.
- ¹¹⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 (including *adespota* F698 K–A); cf. Athenaeus 101e and 128b (quoting Lynceus of Samos) and Alciphron 4.16.
- ¹¹⁶ Plutarch *Demetrius* 27 and Athenaeus 101ef and 128ab (quoting Lynceus of Samos).
- ¹¹⁷ Alciphron 4.16.
- ¹¹⁸ For the notion that the extravagant display of wealth can send out such a message, cf. Thucydides 6.16.1–3.
- ¹¹⁹ See Tondriau 1948, Préaux 1978, 210–11 and 228–9 and Green 1990, 190.

Appendix 1

THE ACCOMMODATION OF THE ROYAL WIVES

A central argument of this book has been the claim that the polygamously held wives of individual hellenistic kings were vicious rivals. How did this phenomenon impact upon the accommodation arrangements made for them? The assumption must be that they were housed as remotely as possible from each other, whether this meant in different cities, in different palaces or houses within the same city, or in separate parts of the same palace. Unfortunately there is little evidence, literary or archaeological, against which to test such an assumption.

Such evidence as there is from classical and hellenistic Athens for common men keeping two wives indicates that the women would have been kept well apart. Thus in Demosthenes' speeches on behalf of Mantitheus, of 348 and 347 (or 345), it emerges that the effectively bigamous Mantias kept his two wives in separate houses, and it is explicitly said that Plangon was never brought into the house of the allegedly legitimate wife, but was maintained in a more lavish house of her own.¹ In Terence's *Phormio* (based upon the *Epidikazomenos* of the early third-century Apollodorus of Carystus) Demipho appears to have two wives at the same time; one he keeps in Athens and the other he keeps in Lemnos.² Exceptions, proving the rule, appear to have occurred in the context of the bigamy concession of c. 413. It was probably under this concession that the richest man in Athens, Callias, married two women (Chrysilla and her daughter) and kept them in the same house, even though he could evidently afford to keep them in separate ones. Callias perhaps brought them under the same roof—with predictably disastrous results—in order to establish the parallel legitimacy of both unions. Had he lived with one and kept the other separately, the one from whom he lived apart might have appeared to be accorded a lesser status.³

The best evidence for a hellenistic king keeping his wives apart comes in the case of the peripatetic court of Demetrius Poliorcetes. It has been argued that his first wife, Phila, lived apart from him in Lampsacus from almost as soon as they were married, although I am not convinced of this.⁴ Plutarch tells that while Demetrius had been involved in Ipsus in 301, one of his wives, Deidameia, the sister of Pyrrhus, had been housed in Athens. The Athenians, thinking to take advantage of the Antigonid defeat to shrug off the royal yoke, shipped the poor woman out to Megara, and met Demetrius with an embassy to inform him of this, and to tell him that she had been accorded appropriate escort and honour in this removal. This seems to imply both that Deidameia had been the only one of Demetrius' wives housed in Athens, and that she had been housed there in luxury.⁵ It is conceivable, however, that Demetrius'

Athenian wife, Eurydice, remained housed in Athens;⁶ if so, the Athenians perhaps resented Deidameia's presence out of sympathy for Eurydice, whom Demetrius had taken on before Deidameia. The Athenians had after all considered it a compliment when Demetrius had married Eurydice.⁷ Plutarch further tells that Demetrius was appropriately accompanied by Phila as he gave their daughter Stratonice in marriage to Seleucus at Rhossus in 298. After the celebrations were complete, Demetrius sent Phila on an embassy to her brother Cassander. 'Meanwhile (*en de toutōi*)', Deidameia sailed in to join him from Greece.⁸ This snapshot episode appears to indicate that Demetrius kept his many wives separately and rotated them into his court one at a time. Demetrius' base at this point was a magnificent ship with thirteen banks of oars, on which he actually entertained Seleucus. We may imagine that it contained magnificent dedicated women's apartments, like the subsequent Thalamegos of Ptolemy Philopator (for which see below).

It emerges from a passing reference by Plutarch that more than one of Demetrius Poliorcetes' children had been in the care of his mother Stratonice when she was captured by Ptolemy and then released *c.* 292.⁹ If the list Plutarch gives of Demetrius' children at the end of his *Life* is complete (Lamia's daughter Phila aside),¹⁰ then these children must have been born of more than one wife;¹¹ the likeliest candidates are Alexander by Deidameia and Corrhagus by Eurydice.¹² It is interesting that where such amphimetric children are found gathered together they have been placed in the care of the one female ascendant who could be trusted to care for them all alike: their paternal grandmother.

Of course older wives can famously be witnessed being shunted off to live separately from newly imported wives in the cases of Ptolemy Philadelphus' Arsinoe I and Arsinoe II¹³ and of Antiochus II's Laodice and Berenice Phernophoros,¹⁴ but since these cases at any rate *arguably* involve the divorce of the prior wife, they cannot be exploited for the matter in hand.

There are virtually no literary references to women's quarters in Macedonian or hellenistic palaces. Herodotus' tale of the murder of the Persian envoys by prince Alexander (subsequently Alexander I) and his comrades in drag at the court of his father Amyntas I *c.* 510 refers to women's quarters (*gynaikēiē*) in the Aegae palace of that time, and indeed the tale as a whole seems to imply that the royal women normally dined separately from the men, presumably in those quarters.¹⁵ The tale does, however, give a number of indications of being fictitious: it has the air of constituting a charter myth for a cross-dressing rite de passage, and it also has the air of being an apologia for a king, Alexander I, who was indeed subject to the Persians during his own reign.¹⁶ But perhaps the detail of the women's quarters may even so reflect practice. We know nothing of the wife or wives of Amyntas I, and it would be idle to speculate further on the organisation of these apartments.

Of more interest is a phrase used by Plutarch introducing the quarrel between Olympias and Cleopatra, which involved Philip and Alexander themselves: 'the kingship was sick in its women's quarters (*gynaikōnitidi*)'.¹⁷ Here *gynaikōnitis*, singular, seems, if taken literally, to imply that Philip's women were all kept together in a single harem. But the phrase should probably be

understood more loosely as an attempt to convey the source of the dynasty's ills in a striking and concrete image. Philip had his main palace at Pella, but retained a 'summer palace' at Aegae, in which one of his wives or perhaps several of them may have been accommodated (it is unclear whether the two known 'hellenistic' palaces at Pella and Aegae were built by Philip or a successor).¹⁸ It should also be noted that there were many palatial houses in the city of Pella itself and some of these could also have been used to house wives separately from each other.¹⁹

Moving into the hellenistic world, an indication that the palaces were normally furnished with elaborate women's apartments may be taken from the fact that Ptolemy IV Philopator's 'floating palace', the *Thalamegos*, is described by Athenaeus as having contained both men's apartments and elaborate dedicated women's quarters (*gynaikōnitis*). Surprisingly, the women's apartments in the ship contained a symposium room of their own with nine couches.²⁰ We suggested above that the ship with thirteen banks of oars on which Demetrius Poliorcetes kept first Phila and then Deidameia at Rhossus may have been similarly furnished. And perhaps it was on an antecedent of the *Thalamegos* that Demetrius captured Lamia, the courtesan of Ptolemy Soter, together with much of the latter's money, in the aftermath of the sea-battle of Salamis in 306.²¹

Something of the layout of the women's apartments in hellenistic palaces may perhaps be divined from Apollonius of Rhodes' *ekphrasis*-description of the palace of Aietes in his *Argonautica*, a description perceived by Chamoux as 'a literary evocation of a Macedonian palace'.²² The palace is organised around a square peristyle court. The front wing, on either side of the entrance to the court, constitutes the apartments of Aietes' son and heir, Apsyrus. The rear wing of the square constitutes the apartments of king Aietes himself, and contains the *megaron*. The connecting side-wings are divided into rows of chambers (*thalamoi*), each accessed directly from the colonnade.²³ The women appear to have been housed in these:

The other chambers were occupied by the maids and Aietes' pair of daughters, Chalciopé and Médée. Accordingly they [lacuna: came across?] her (Médée) going from chamber to chamber²⁴ after her sister.

Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 3.247–9

Chalciopé and Médée obviously had a chamber each, and these were elaborate enough to contain their own vestibules (*prodomoi*): Médée tarried in her vestibule in a state of indecision as to whether to go out to speak to her sister.²⁵ Indeed her vestibule was so large in itself that twelve maids could sleep in it at night.²⁶ This detail leaves it uncertain whether the maids also had separate chambers of their own. If this is indeed an evocation of a Macedonian or hellenistic palace, we can at least suppose that such palaces had many such separate chambers in which competing wives or perhaps courtesans could be housed, if they were after all to be brought under the same roof.

However, one might have thought that if Apollonius were to evoke a palace he knew, it would have been the Alexandrian one, which was evidently far grander and far more extensive than that described for Aietes, and appears to

have occupied in all its parts about a third of the entire area of Alexandria.²⁷ This massive palace is the subject of many literary descriptions. From these it emerges that in its extensive gardens were a number of pavilions designed for the housing of guests of the court, in one of which Caesar stayed as the guest of Cleopatra.²⁸ These outhouses would doubtless have comfortably accommodated the many courtesans of Philadelphus, if they existed in his day.

The archaeological perspective on women's quarters in hellenistic palaces is disappointingly bleak, despite the excavation of a number of palaces, as is demonstrated by the meagre references to them that Nielsen is able to make in her excellent survey of the sites.²⁹ Archaeologists tend only to be able to categorise rooms as 'residential apartments for king and family', without indicating which ones may have been assigned to the women in particular.

The issue of maids apart, it is clear that royal women needed rather more than a single bedroom for themselves in order to be appropriately housed. Their ladies-in-waiting and body-guards would also require accommodation, and the rooms of the former group would also have been fine. Among the ladies-in-waiting brought by Eurydice to the court of Philadelphus was, famously, Berenice I.³⁰ More loyal to their mistress were the ladies-in-waiting of Antiochus II's second wife, Berenice Phernophoros, who buried her after her murder and did what they could to maintain the pretence that she was still alive. In addition to the three who are named, Panariste, Mania and Gethosyne, we are told that she had many others, who were killed.³¹ A personal guard for Antigonus I's wife Stratonice is attested by Diodorus.³² Her son Demetrius Poliorcetes' wife Phila also had a personal bodyguard, as is attested by an inscription honouring its captain, Demarchus, just after 306.³³ It is obvious against whom in particular the royal wives needed protection: each other.

Notes

¹ Demosthenes 39.26 and 40.2, 8 and 51.

² Terence *Phormio* 941–2, 1004–5, 1016–19 and 1041.

³ Andocides 1.124. Cf. Ogden 1996a, 103–4 for these cases, with 72–5 for the bigamy concession.

⁴ Wehrli 1962, 141–2.

⁵ Plutarch *Demetrius* 30; cf. Macurdy 1932, 64.

⁶ See Plutarch *Demetrius* 14 for the marriage to Eurydice.

⁷ Plutarch *Demetrius* 14; cf. Diodorus 20.40.5; see Seibert 1967, 28.

⁸ Plutarch *Demetrius* 32.

⁹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 38.

¹⁰ Plutarch *Demetrius* 53.

¹¹ Only Demetrius' wife Phila had borne him two children, Antigonus II Gonatas and Stratonice, but by this time both had long been adult, and Stratonice was at this same time moving on from her first to her second Seleucid husband.

¹² Cf. Macurdy 1932, 64.

¹³ Scholiast Theocritus 17.129 etc.; but see chapter 4.

¹⁴ Porphyry *FGH* 260 F43 and Appian *Syrian Wars* 65; cf. Welles 1934 nos. 18–20; but see chapter 5, with further references.

¹⁵ Herodotus 5.20.

¹⁶ Cf. Borza 1990, 102 and Carney 1993, 314–15. However, Brosius 1996, 94–5 suspects that the Persian envoy's description of Persian customs regarding women and dining may be accurate.

¹⁷ Plutarch *Alexander* 9; the fuller passage is quoted above, chapter 1.

¹⁸ The Aegae palace was probably built by Cassander or Antigonus Gonatas: see Andronikos 1984, 38–46, Borza 1990, 254 and Nielsen 1994, 81.

¹⁹ See Nielsen 1993, 81–4 and 262–6.

²⁰ Athenaeus 204d–206d (including Callixeinus *FHG* iii p. 55), especially 205d; cf. Nielsen 1994, 23 and 136.

²¹ Plutarch *Demetrius* 16.

²² Apollonius *Argonautica* 3.215–48; cf. Chamoux 1993.

²³ Cf. Chamoux 1993, 341.

²⁴ The phrase 'from chamber to chamber' recurs at 3.671, where it appears to denote two specific chambers.

²⁵ Apollonius *Argonautica* 3.645–55, especially 647.

²⁶ Apollonius *Argonautica* 3.838–40.

²⁷ Nielsen 1994, 280–2 and *nb.* fig. 69 at 132.

²⁸ Nielsen 1994, 282, cataloguing sources.

²⁹ Nielsen 1994.

³⁰ Pausanias 1.6.8.

³¹ Polyaeus 8.50.

³² Diodorus 19.16.1–5; cf. Billows 1990, 263 and n. 42.

³³ Dittenberger 1915–24 no. 333; cf. Wehrli 1964, 141–2 and Carney 1991a, 170 n. 44. See Welles 1934 no. 1 line 5 and p. 9 (*ad loc.*) for another inscriptional reference to this Demarchus.

Appendix 2

REPERTORIUM OF SOURCES FOR HELLENISTIC ROYAL COURTESANS

1. ARGEADS

PERDICCAS II

SIMICHE

Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43

Cf. Plato *Gorgias* 471 and Aristides
46.120.2, with scholiast.

PERDICCAS III

UNNAMED

Athenaeus 508e (?)

PHILIP II

PHILINNA

Athenaeus 557b-e (including
Satyrus F21 Kumaniecki) and
577f-578a (including Ptolemy of
Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4)

Plutarch *Alexander* 77; cf. 10

Justin 9.8.2 and 13.2.11

ALEXANDER III

CALLIXEINA

Athenaeus 435a (including Carystius
of Pergamum *FHG* iv 357 F4,
Hieronymus F10 Hiller and
Theophrastus F578
Fortenbaugh)

THAIS

See Ptolemy I

360 CONCUBINES OF DARIUS

Curtius 6.6.8

Justin 12.3.10

FLUTE GIRLS AT SYMPOSIA

Athenaeus 539a (including Polycleitos
of Larissa *FGH* 128 F1)

Curtius 6.2.5

HARPALUS

PYTHIONICE and GLYCERA

Athenaeus 595a-596a (including
Philemon *Babylonian* F15 K-A,
Alexis *Lyciscus* F143 K-A,
Theopompus *FGH* 115 F253 and
Alexander/Python of Catana/
Byzantium TrGF 91 Python F1,
Agén.)

Plutarch *Phocion* 22 and *Moralia*
401a

Pausanias 1.37.4

Diodorus 17.108

2. PTOLEMIES

PTOLEMY I SOTER

LAMIA

See Demetrius Poliorcetes

THAIS

Athenaeus 576de (including Cleit-
archus *FGH* 137 F11)

Plutarch *Alexander* 38

Diodorus 17.72

Curtius 5.7.2-11

Cf. Justin 15.2 and Dittenberger
1915-24 no. 314 (Lycaean
victories) B v line 7

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS

GENERAL

Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy
VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and
Polybius 14.11.2)

AGATHOCLEIA

Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy
VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and

- Polybius 14.11.2)
- AGLAIS
- Athenaeus 415ab
- Aelian *Varia historia* 1.26
- BILISTICHE
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2) and 596e
- Plutarch *Moralia* 753ef (*Eroticus*)
- Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 4.42
- Phlegon of Tralles (?) *Olympic chronology* = *FGH* 257a F6 = P. Oxy. 2082 F6 lines 6–8
- Suda* s.v. *Sōtadēs, Crēs, Marōneitēs*
- Life of Sotades* p. 114 Westermann
- Pausanias 5.8.11
- Eusebius *Chronicles* i 207 Schöne
- Zenon Papyri* (ed. Edgar) ii 59289
- P. Hibeh* ii 261–2
- Ijsewijn 1961 no. 35
- CLEINO
- Athenaeus 425f (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F3 and Polybius 14.11.1) and 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- DIDYME
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- Asclepiades *Palatine anthology* 5.210 = Gow and Page 1965
- Asclepiades no. v (lines 828–31)
- GLAUCE
- Theocritus *Idyll* 4.31 with scholiast (including Theophrastus F567c Fortenbaugh) and *Epigram* 23 (Gow; = *Palatine anthology* 7.262)
- Aelian *Nature of animals* 1.6, 5.29 (including Theophrastus F567b Fortenbaugh) and 8.11 (quoting Hegemon *Dardanica*) and *Varia historia* 9.39
- Plutarch *Moralia* 397a and 972f
- Athenaeus 176c (including Hedylus 10 Gow and Page)
- Pliny *Natural history* 10.51
- HIPPE
- Athenaeus 583ab (including Machon F18 Gow)
- Eustathius 1224.49–50 on *Iliad* 21.79
- P. Fayum* Ostrakon 9
- MNESIS
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- MYRTION
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- POTHEINE
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- STRATONICE
- Athenaeus 576ef (including Ptolemy VIII Physcon *FGH* 234 F4 and Polybius 14.11.2)
- Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15 with scholiast
- PTOLEMY THE SON/PTOLEMY OF EPHEBUS
- EIRENE
- Athenaeus 593ab
- P. Haunienses* 6 F1 line 12 (?)
- PTOLEMY III EUERGETES/IV PHILOPATOR
- OENANTHE
- Polybius 14.11.1 (at Athenaeus 251c), 15.25.12, 29.8–14 and 33.8
- Plutarch *Cleomenes* 33 and *Moralia* 753d (*Eroticus*)
- Justin 30.2.3
- PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR
- AGATHOCLEIA
- Polybius 14.11.1 (from Athenaeus 251e and 576b) and 15.25–33
- Plutarch *Cleomenes* 33 and *Moralia*

735d (*Eroticus*)

Justin 30.1.7–30.2.8 and Trogus

Prologue 30

John of Antioch *FHG* iv p. 558 F54

Strabo C795

Scholiast Aristophanes

Thesmophoriazusae 1059

Athenaeus 576f–577a

Jerome/Hieronymus *In Daniele*

11.13–14 (including *FGH* 260 F45)

P. Strasburg i 562, 563 and ii 113 (at Clarysse 1976)

P. Haunienses i 6 F6–7 line 3

Ijsewijn 1961 no. 71

ARISTONICA

Plutarch *Moralia* 753d (*Eroticus*)

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II
(PHYSCON)

EIRENE/ITHACA

Josephus *Against Apion* 2.5

Diodorus 33.13

Justin 39.5.2

3. SELEUCIDS

SELEUCUS II

MYSTA

Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4) and 593e (including Phylarchus *FGH* F81 F30)

Polyaenus 8.61

NYSA

Athenaeus 578a (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4)

ANTIOCHUS IV

ANTIOCHIS

2 *Maccabees* 4.30

ALEXANDER BALAS

GENERAL

Justin 35.2.2

ANTIOCHUS X CYZICENUS

UNNAMED

Appian *Syrian Wars* 69

4. ANTIGONIDS

THE HETAIROIDEIA

Athenaeus 572de (including Hegesander *FHG* iv p. 418 F25)

ANTIGONUS

MONOPHTHALMOS

DEMO

Athenaeus 578ab (Heraclides of Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4)

Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15 (?)

DEMETRIUS I POLIORCETES

UNNAMED

Plutarch *Demetrius* 19

ANTICYRA

Plutarch *Demetrius* 24

CHRYISIS

Plutarch *Demetrius* 24

CRATESIPOLIS

Plutarch *Demetrius* 9

Diodorus 19.67.1–2 and 20.37.1

Polyaenus 8.58

DEMO

Athenaeus 578ab (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4 and Heraclides Lembos *FHG* iii 168 F4)

Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15

DEMO/MANIA

Plutarch *Demetrius* 24 and 27

MELITTA/MANIA

Athenaeus 578a–579d (including Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161 F4, Machon F14–15 Gow and quoting Diphilus [not K–A])

GNATHAINA and GNATHAINION

Alciphron 4.16.2

Athenaeus 384f (including Philippides *Ananeousa* F5 K–A), 558ab (including Aristodemus and Anaxilas *Neottis* F22 K–A), 567f (including Timocles *Orestautocleides* F27 K–A and Amphis *Kouris* 23 K–A), 577d and 578e–585b (including Machon F16–18, Diphilus T8 K–A and quoting Aristophanes of

Byzantium, Lynceus of Samos
and Aristodemus)

LAMIA

Plutarch *Demetrius* 10, 16 and 23-7
(including Philippides F25 K-A
and *adespota* F698 K-A and
quoting Lynceus of Samos and
Demochares of Soli)

Athenaeus 101e (including Lynceus
of Samos), 128b (including
Lynceus), 252f-253b (including
Demochares *FGH* 75 F1 and
Polemon F13 Preller), 577c-f
(including Polemon F45-6
Preller and Machon F12-13
Gow) and 614ef (including
Phylarchus *FGH* 81 F12)

Clement *Protrepticus* 4.48

Alciphron 4.16 and 17

Aelian *Varia historia* 12.17 and 13.8-
9

Diogenes Laertius 5.76 (including
Favorinus *FHG* iii 578 F8)

Choiroboskos Bekker *Anecdota*
Graeca 1395

LEAINA

Athenaeus 252f-253b (including
Demochares *FGH* 75 F1 and
Polemon F13 Preller) and 577d-f
(including Machon F12 Gow and
Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGH* 161
F4)

MYRRHINE

Athenaeus 593a (including Nicolaus
of Damascus *FGH* 90 F90)

PHILIP, YOUNGER BROTHER OF DEMETRIUS I

THREE UNNAMED COURTESANS
Plutarch *Demetrius* 23

ANTIGONUS II GONATAS

DEMO

See Demetrius I Poliorcetes

Cf. Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 34 and Diogenes

Laertius 4.41.2 and 7.36
(including Arnim 1923-38 [*SVF*]
i no. 435)

DEMETRIUS II AETOLICUS AND ANTIGONUS III DOSON

CHRYSEIS

Porphyry *FGH* 260 F3.13-14 =
Eusebius *Chronicles* i 237-8
Schöne

Etymologicum Magnum s.v. *Dōsōn*
Syncellus 535.19 Dindorf
Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 8

PHILIP V

GNATHAINION

Plutarch *Aratus* 54.7 and *Aemilius*
Paullus 8.7

Livy 40.9.2

Aelian *Varia historia* 12.43

PERSEUS

CALLIPPA

Diodorus 32.15

5. ATTALIDS

PHILETAERUS

HIS MOTHER, BOA

Athenaeus 577b (including Carystius
of Pergamum *FHG* iv 358 F12)

EUMENES II

EPHESIAN CONCUBINE

Justin 36.4.6

Eutropius 4.20

Plutarch *Flamininus* 21

MOTHER OF ATTALUS III (?)

Polybius 30.2

Livy 45.19.11

ATHENAEUS, YOUNGEST

BROTHER OF EUMENES II AND ATTALUS II

CALLIPPA

Diodorus 32.15

Appendix 3

KING-LISTS

1. ARGEADS

c. 650?	Perdiccas I
	Argaeus
	Philip I
	Aeropus I
	Alcetas
—c. 498	Amyntas I
c. 498–454	Alexander I
454–413	Perdiccas II
413–399	Archelaus
399–398	Orestes
398–395	Aeropus II
395–394	Amyntas II
394–393	Pausanias
393–370	Amyntas III
370–367	Alexander II
367–365	Ptolemy of Alorus
365–359	Perdiccas III
359–336	Philip II
336–323	Alexander III the Great
323–317	Philip III (Arrhidaeus)
323–311	Alexander IV

2. CASSANDER

306–297	Cassander
297	Philip IV
297–294	Antipater and Alexander V

3. LYSIMACHUS

306–281	Lysimachus
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4. PTOLEMIES

a. Kings

306–282	Ptolemy I Soter (in control of Egypt from 323)
282–246	Ptolemy II Philadelphus (co-regent from 205)
246–222	Ptolemy III Euergetes I
222–205	Ptolemy IV Philopator
204–180	Ptolemy V Epiphanes Eucharistus

180–145	Ptolemy VI Philometor (gap: 164–163)
145–144	Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator
170–116	Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon, Physcon (gap: 163–45)
116–80	Ptolemy IX Philometor II Soter II Lathyrus, Pothinus (gap: 107–88)
107–88	Ptolemy X Alexander I
80	Ptolemy XI Alexander II
80–51	Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos Philopator II Philadelphus II Auletes, Nothus (gap: 58–55)
51–47	Ptolemy XIII
47–44	Ptolemy XIV Philopator III
44–30	Ptolemy XV Caesar Philopator IV Philometor III Caesarion

b. Later queens

194–176	Cleopatra I
176–116	Cleopatra II
116–101	Cleopatra III Euergetis, Cocce
101–80	Cleopatra V Berenice III
80–c.57	Cleopatra VI Tryphaena II
58–55	Berenice IV
51–30	Cleopatra VII Thea Philopator

5. SELEUCIDS

306–281	Seleucus I Nicator
281–261	Antiochus I Soter
261–246	Antiochus II Theos
246–226	Seleucus II (Pogon) Callinicus
226–223	Seleucus III (Ceraunus) Soter
223–187	Antiochus III the Great

187–175	<u>Seleucus IV Philopator</u>
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175–164	<u>Antiochus IV Theos</u> <u>Epiphanes Nicephorus</u>
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164–162	Antiochus V Eupator
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162–150	Demetrius I Soter
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150–145	Alexander I Balas
145–142	Antiochus VI (Theos) Epiphanes Dionysus

146–139	Demetrius II (Theos) Nicator Philadelphus [first period]
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142–138	[Tryphon (Diodotus) Autocrator]
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129–126	<u>Demetrius II (Theos)</u> <u>Nicator Philadelphus</u> [second period]
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138–129	<u>Antiochus VII (Sidetes)</u> <u>Soter Euergetes Callinicus</u>
128–123	[Alexander II Zabinas]

126	Cleopatra Thea Eueteria
125	Seleucus V Nicator

King lists

125	Cleopatra Thea Eueteria	
125–121	Cleopatra Thea Eueteria and Antiochus VIII (Grypus) Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus	
121–96	Antiochus VIII (Grypus) Epiphanes Philometor Callinicus	116–95 Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus) Eusebes Philopator
96–5	Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator	
95	Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphos	
95–83	Philip I Epiphanes Philadelphus	
95–88	Demetrius III (Eucærus) Theos Philopator Soter (Philometor Euergetes Callinicus)	95–92 Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator
89–84	Antiochus XII Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus	
69–64	Philip II (Barypus) Philoromæus	69–64 Antiochus XIII Eusebes (Asiaticus)

Note: no two published Seleucid king lists resemble each other, particularly for the later period. This is because of the many uncertainties about general chronology and about the duration, nature and legitimacy of competing or overlapping reigns, and because of the adoption of differing conventions with regard to the representation of associate kingships (such as that of Antiochus I under the reign of Seleucus I). For other versions of the king list see, e.g., Austin 1981, 460–1, Grainger 1990b, 202–3 and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 230. The principal concern of the list printed here is to provide a convenient relative ordering of the Seleucid kings and to indicate to which rival line the various individual kings belonged. Round brackets indicate unofficial epithets (which are of course often the ones most commonly used). Square brackets indicate those that were not blood Seleucids. The underlined names indicate the full-brother pairs from which conflicting collateral lines of claimants to the Seleucid throne were drawn, and columns are used to indicate to which line succeeding kings belonged. The first split occurred between the descendants of Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV (themselves sons of Antiochus III). There is some doubt as to whether Alexander Balas was a Seleucid by birth. He is given the benefit of the doubt here, but if he was not, then his son Antiochus VI would not have been of the Seleucid blood either. Diodotus was definitely not a Seleucid by birth (hence his appearance in square brackets), but he was probably the last sequential ruler in the series that derived its authority from Antiochus IV. No sooner had this split been resolved than another one developed between the descendants of Demetrius

II and Antiochus VII Sidetes (themselves sons of Demetrius I), which was to endure until the very end of the dynasty. Zabinas was probably not a Seleucid by birth (hence square brackets again), but belongs to the 'right-hand' tradition for having claimed to be an adopted son of Antiochus VII Sidetes. He may instead have claimed to have been a son of Alexander Balas, which again would properly locate him on the right hand side of the page, although his appearance below the name of Antiochus VII would thus in itself be misleading.

6. ANTIGONIDS

306–301	Antigonus I Monophthalmos
306–283	Demetrius I Poliorcetes
283–239	Antigonus II Gonatas
239–229	Demetrius II Aetolicus
229–221	Antigonus III Doson
221–179	Philip V
179–168	Perseus
149–148	Andriscus

Note: 'Philip IV' is reserved to denote the boy-king son of Cassander who briefly ruled Macedon in 297.

7. ATTALIDS

283–263	Philetaerus
263–241	Eumenes I
241–197	Attalus I Soter (first to assume title of 'king')
197–160	Eumenes II Soter
160–139	Attalus II
139–133	Attalus III
134?–129	Aristonicus/Eumenes III

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Abbreviations: journals

<i>AHB</i>	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AncW</i>	<i>Ancient World</i>
<i>ANS MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilungen</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>(Annual of the) British School at Athens</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>MAI</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>PACA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the African Classical Association</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del passato</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>Rev. Celt.</i>	<i>Revue celtique</i>
<i>RF</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica</i>
<i>RSA</i>	<i>Rivista storica dell'antichità</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZSav</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

Other journals are referred to by their full title in the following bibliography.

Other abbreviations

<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Cambridge, 1923–
<i>CPG</i>	Leutsch 1839–51
<i>FGH</i>	Jacoby 1923–58
<i>FHG</i>	Müller 1853–70
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1903–. Sundry editors, volumes and editions, Berlin. Guide nos. 57–8 and 61
<i>IGR</i>	Cagnat 1906–7

- K-A* Kassel and Austin 1983–
RE A.F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds.) *Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1894–1972; supplements, 1903–.
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Sundry editors, 1923–, Leiden. *Guide* no. 820.
SVF Arnim 1923–38.
Tod Tod 1933–48
TrGF B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt (eds.) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 4+ vols., Göttingen, 1971–.

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INDEX

The index contains several groups of multiple homonyms (Antiochus, Laodice, Ptolemy etc.). Within these groups those participating in numerical series are listed first, followed by the rest in alphabetical order of the key identifying term. Endnotes are only referenced when containing substantial discussion further to the corresponding main text.

Abbreviations: c. courtesan d. daughter f. father s. son w. wife

- Achaemenids 125–7
 Achaeus 120, 124, 132
 Achilles 44
 Ada 42
 Adea/Eurydice, d. of Amyntas 'IV' 22–3, 25
 Aeacides 175
 Aeropus, regent for Orestes 11
 Aeropus, s. of Perdiccas II 7–11
 Ahwere 78
 Agathocleia, c. of Ptolemy II 251–2
 Agathocleia, c. of Ptolemy IV 81–2, 217–18, 221, 223–4, 232, 235–8, 240, 242–3, 246, 248, 251–2, 259–62, 264–7
 Agathocles, f. of Agathocles, minister of Ptolemy IV 246, 252
 Agathocles, s. of Lysimachus xi, 15, 57–62, 74, 121
 Agathocles, minister of Ptolemy IV 81–2, 186, 218, 223, 235–8, 240, 246, 252, 260
 Agathocles of Syracuse (elder) xxix, 175
 Agathocles of Syracuse (younger) xxix
 Agetus 172
 Aglais 260, 267
 Akhenaten 94
 Alcetas, s. of Alexander I 5–8, 11
 Alexander I of Macedon 4–7, 28, app. 1
 Alexander II 11–16
 Alexander III the Great x, xv, xviii, xxii, xxix, 3–4, 12, 17–29, 41–8, 56, 58, 67, 118–19, 175, 219, 221, 235, 237, 240–1, 243–5, 249, 251, 259, 262, app. 1
 Alexander IV 41–8, 56, 175
 Alexander V xiv, 53–7, 59, 131
 Alexander I Balas of Syria xvii, 117, 141, 143–52, 207, 222, 240, 261, 265–6, 268
 Alexander II Zabinas 141, 148, 151–2, 207
 Alexander, s. of Alcetas, s. of Alexander I 8
 Alexander, fictional s. of Alexander III 42
 Alexander of Corinth 180
 Alexander, s. of Demetrius I of Macedon 173, app. 1
 Alexander of Epirus 24, 73
 Alexander Helios 101–5
 Alexander of Lyncestis 53
 Alexander, s. of Lysimachus 57–62
 Alexander, s. of Perseus 187–9
 Alexander of Phrae xxix–xxx
 Alexander, s. of Polyperchon 246
 Alexander, s. of Ptolemy III 80–1
 Amasis 127
 Amastris 57–62
 Amestris, d. of Artaxerxes II 127
 Ammon *see* Zeus
Amphimētores x, xix–xxi, xxvi–xxx
 Amyntas I, app. 1
 Amyntas II 11, 15
 Amyntas III x, xix, 11–16, 45, 61, 125
 Amyntas 'IV', s. of Perdiccas III 16, 26, 142
 Amyntas, s. of Alexander I 5–7
 Amyntas, s. of Archelaus (= II?) 8–11, 125
 Amyntas, s. of Philip, s. of Alexander I 6

Index

- Amytis/Mandane 45
Anaxandridas xxviii
Andriscus 146, 187–92, 232–3, 239
Andromache xxvii
Andromachus 132
Antenor 234
Anticyra 246, 263
Antigone, d. of Berenice I
Antigonus I, 53, 73, 157, 171–3, 178–9, 231, 233, 238–9, 242, 247–8, 267, app. 1
Antigonus II 80, 171, 173–80, 218, 223, 232, 242, 247–8
Antigonus III xxiii, 171, 173, 176, 180–3, 189, 206, 231, 233, 242, 247, 252
Antigonus, s. of Demetrius I of Syria 146
Antigonus, s. of Echeocrates 186
Antiochis I of Cappadocia, d. of Antiochus III 133–40, 206
Antiochis, c. of Antiochus IV, 143–6, 222, 237, 268
Antiochis, supposed w. of Seleucus I 120
Antiochis, d. of Seleucus II 132, 134, 139
Antiochus I xi–xii, 61, 78, 117, 119–27, 135–6, 179
Antiochus II xi, xiv, xx, xxv, 56, 74, 79, 80, 83, 117–18, 124–32, 135, 179, 215, 217, 237, app. 1
Antiochus III xi, xxiii, 72, 82–3, 117, 125, 132–141, 147, 184, 186, 202, 222, 247
Antiochus IV xii, 84–6, 118, 133–46, 150, 152, 184, 222–3, 225, 237, 267–8
Antiochus V 140–6
Antiochus VI 144, 147–52
Antiochus VII xii, 118, 141, 146–52
Antiochus VIII 99, 147–55, 157
Antiochus IX 147–57
Antiochus X 154–7, 236
Antiochus XI 153–4, 157–8
Antiochus XII 153–4
Antiochus XIII 157–8
Antiochus, s. of Antiochus VII 147–52
Antiochus Hierax xiv, 53, 56, 118, 127–32, 140, 150, 158
Antiochus, f. of Seleucus I 118
Antiochus, s. of Seleucus IV 140–2
Antiochus the Son (of Antiochus III) xii, 133–42
Antipater (the elder) 53–4, 174
Antipater (the younger), s. of Cassander xiv, 53–7, 131
Antipater the Etesian 56
Antiphon xxvii
Antony 101–5
Apama, d. of Antiochus I 124–7
Apama, w. of Demetrius II of Syria 149
Apama, w. of Prusias II 179–87
Apama, w. of Ptolemy I: *see* Artacama
Apama, w. of Seleucus I 69, 119–24
Apama, d. of Seleucus I 119–24
Apama/Apames, d./s. of Antiochus II 127–32
Aphrodite 262–5, 268
Apollo xxix
Apollonius, w. of Attalus I 199, 201–2, 206
Apollonius of Rhodes app. 1
Appian xxiii–iv
Aratus of Sicyon, the elder 184
Aratus of Sicyon, the younger 183
Aratus of Soli 178
Archagathos xxix
Archelaus, s. of Amyntas III 11–16
Archelaus, claimant to Egyptian throne 101
Archelaus, king of Macedon xv, xix, 5–11, 45, 125, 142
Ardys 133–40
Areius 105
Argaeus, Macedonian pretender 11, 13
Argaeus, s. of Ptolemy I 68, 75
Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia 140
Ariarathes V 140, 202, 204
Ariarathes, s. of Ariarathes IV 140
Aristagora 239
Aristarchus 224
Aristobulus xxii, 235
Aristocles 218
Aristomache xxviii–xxix
Ariston 172
Aristonica 243, 260
Aristonicus 146, 202–10, 232–3, 243, 259
Aristotle 22
Arrhabaeus 9

- Arrhidaeus, s. of Amyntas III 11–16
 Arrhidaeus, s. of Philip II *see* Philip III
 Arrian xxii
 Arsaces 156
 Arsinoe I, 57–62, 73–80, 206, app. 1
 Arsinoe II xi, xx, xxii, 10, 15, 57–62, 73–80, 121, 125, 206, 235, 246, app. 1
 Arsinoe III 80–2, 237
 Arsinoe IV 99–101
 Arsinoe, w. of Magas of Cyrene (aka Apama) 80
 Arsinoe, d. of Ptolemy I 68–73
 Artabazus 42–3, 69, 119
 Artacama/Apama, w. of Ptolemy I 68–73
 Artaxerxes II 127
 Artaxerxes III 127
 Asclepiades 244, 250
 Aspasia 265
 Atheas 20
 Athenaeus of Naucratis xxiii, 223 and 215–78 *passim*
 Athenaeus of Pergamum 191–2, 201–2, 231, 239, 241
 Atossa, d. of Artaxerxes II 127
 Attalus I 199, 201–2
 Attalus II 143, 145, 201–7
 Attalus III 202–10, 232–3
 Attalus, uncle of Cleopatra, w. of Philip II 4, 17–22, 24, 42, 48
 Attalus, brother of Philetaerus 201
 Attalus, s. of Attalus, brother of Philetaerus 201
 Audata/Eurydice 12–13, 16–27
 Autoleon 176

 Bagoas 41, 218
 Balas: *see* Alexander I of Syria
 Bardiya/Smerdis 123
 Bardylis 176
 Barsabas 191
 Barsine, d. of Artabazus, w. of Alexander III 41–8
 Barsine/Stateira, d. of Darius III, w. of Alexander III: *see* Stateira
 Basilissa 19, 23, 70, 79, 88–9, 94, 124, 133–6, 174, 181, 184, 231, 266
 Bastarnian 186–9
 Beloch xiv, 5, 18
 Berenice I, w. of Ptolemy I xi, xv, 59, 61, 68–73, 75, 79, 183, 215, 217, 231, app. 1
 Berenice II (of Cyrene) 80–2, 176
 Berenice III (Cleopatra V) 93–100
 Berenice IV 93, 95, 99–101, 103, 105, 158
 Berenice, fiancée of Attalus III 207–8
 Berenice Phernophoros xi, 73–80, 83, 127–32, 217, app. 1
 Berenice, d. of Ptolemy III 80
 Berenice d. of Ptolemy VIII? 87–93
 Bilistiche 73, 221, 224, 235, 238, 244–6, 251, 262, 265
 Birkenna 176
 Boa 199–200, 259
 Bocchoris 242, 249, 267
 Boiotos xxvii
 Briseis 44
 Brittane 154–6
 Bromias 238

 Caesar xi, 101–5, app. 1
 Caesarion xi, 67, 101–5
 Callias xxvi, app. 1
 Callippa 187–92, 231–3, 239, 241, 250, 260
 Callixeina 42, 237, 243, 251
 Calpurnia 104
 Cambyses 45, 123, 126–7
 Candace 42
 Caranus, hero 8
 Caranus, s. of Philip II 17–27
 Carney ix, xvi, xviii, 23, 55, 75, 78, 84
 Cassander xiv, xxv, 53–7, 13, 172, 174, app. 1
 Chalciope app. 1
 Chandragupta *see* Sandracottus
 Charmion 217
 Chryseis 179–82, 192, 215, 231–3, 242–3, 247, 250, 252
 Chrysilla xxvi, app. 1
 Chrysis, c. of Demetrius I, 246, 251–2, 263
 Cleainetos 218
 Cleanor 177, 245, 247
 Clearchus 58
 Cleino 223–4, 232, 239, 260
 Cleitarchus xxii
 Cleobis and Biton 202
 Cleomedon 218
 Cleomenes xxviii
 Cleopatra I 82–3, 133–40

Index

- Cleopatra II xxii, 82–93, 97, 117, 142, 152–3
 Cleopatra III 83–94, 97, 154–5
 Cleopatra IV 87–99, 152, 154–7, 236
 Cleopatra V Berenice III *see* Berenice III
 Cleopatra VI 93–101
 Cleopatra VII xi, xxiv, 99–105, 141, 217, 232–3, app. 1
 Cleopatra, w. of Perdiccas II and Archelaus xix, 5–11, 25
 Cleopatra, d. of Philip II, sister of Alexander III, 17–27, 46, 58, 73
 Cleopatra/Eurydice, w. of Philip II xx, 10, 17–27, app. 1
 Cleopatra Selene, d. of Ptolemy VIII, 87–99, 152–8
 Cleopatra Selene, d. of Cleopatra VII
 Cleopatra Thea 83–7, 99, 145, 147–53
 Cleopatra Tryphaena 87–93, 152–8
 Cleophris/Cleophylis 42
 Cleoptolemus 137–8, 202, 247
 Combabos 122
 Cornelia 93
 Corrhagus, s. of Demetrius I of Macedon 173–7, app. 1
 Corrhagus, f. of Stratonice, w. of Antigonus I 172
 Cothelas 17
 Craterus, s. of Craterus 171
 Craterus, Diadochos 54, 58, 174
 Craterus, eunuch 150
 Cratesipolis 218, 246, 250
 Creusa xxvii
 Curtius xxii
 Cybele 200
 Cynane/Cynna 16–27
 Cyrus I 45

 Darius I 45, 123, 126–7
 Darius II 126–7
 Darius III 23, 42, 44, 58, 119, 126–7, 244–5
 Deidameia 173–7, app. 1
 Deiotarus 205–7
 Demaratus 172
 Demarchus app. 1
 Demeter 176, 200
 Demetrius I of Macedon xv, xxiv, 53–6, 72, 118, 120–1, 123, 171, 173–7, 182, 189, 200, 218–20, 221–5, 231, 233–4, 237–52, 259–68, app. 1
 Demetrius II 132, 178–82, 231, 232–3, 242, 247, 250, 252
 Demetrius I of Syria 140–2, 144, 146–7, 184, 191
 Demetrius II xii, 93, 118, 141, 146–52, 184
 Demetrius III 153–4, 157–8
 Demetrius of Bactria 134–5
 Demetrius the Fair 80–1, 173–7, 180, 182
 Demetrius the Meagre 173–7
 Demetrius of Phalerum 72–3, 232
 Demetrius, s. of Philip V xii, xx, 86, 125, 137, 141, 171, 183–7, 189
 Demo, Antigoniid courtesan(s) 173–9, 192, 223, 231–3, 238, 242, 246–8, 251, 261, 263
 Demochares of Soli 249
 Derdas (1) 6
 Derdas (2) 17
 Didyme 92, 224, 244, 249
 Diodorus xxii–iii
 Diodotus *see* Tryphon
 Diognetos, f. of Agathocleia 235, 246, 252
 Diognetos, Seleucid officer 72, 133–4
 Dion xxviii
 Dionysius I xxviii–xxix, 10
 Dionysius II xxviii–xxix, 10
 Dionysius of Heraclea 58
 Dionysus 176
 Diphilus 234, 262
 Dorieus xxviii
 Doris xxviii
 Drypetis 46
 Duris of Samos 225
 Dyarchy 117–8, 123

 Eiras 217
 Eirene, d. of Ptolemy I, 68–73, 232, 251
 Eirene, c. of Ptolemy VIII *see* Ithaca
 Eirene, c. of Ptolemy the Son 79, 236, 243, 249, 251
 Electra 207
 Epiphanes Nicomedes 179
 Erasistratus 122
 Euboea 133–40, 184, 202, 247
 Eulaeus 84, 218
 Eumenes I 201

- Eumenes II xii, xxiii, 134–5, 142, 145,
 201–8, 231–3, 241, 243
 Eumenes III *see* Aristonicus
 Eumenes of Cardia xxiii
 Eumenes, brother of Philetaerus 201
 Eunostos of Soloi 69
 Eunuchs 136 *see also* Combabos,
 Craterus, Eulaeus, Galloi, Philet-
 aerus (founder)
 Euripides xv, xxvi–ii
 Europa 17–27
 Eurydice, w. of Amyntas III and
 Ptolemy of Alorus x, xix, 11–16, 45,
 61, 125, 182
 Eurydice, d. of Antipater, w. of
 Ptolemy I xi, 54, 61, 68–73, 75, 183
 Eurydice, w. of Demetrius I of
 Macedon 173–7, app. 1
 Eurydice, d. of Lysimachus, w. of the
 younger Antipater 55, 57–62
 Eurynoe, d. of Amyntas III 11–16, 78,
 125
 Eusebius xxiv
 Excipinus 41

 Flamininus 185

 Gabinius 101
 Galaestes 87
 Galloi 122
 Gethosyne 130, 217–18, app. 1
 Glaucē 219, 239, 243, 259, 265
 Glycera, c. of Harpalus, 221, 231,
 237–8, 240, 243, 262, 264
 Glycera, c. of Menander 219
 Gnathaina 219–20, 225, 227 n. 28,
 234, 240, 251–2, 261, 267
 Gnathainion, (grand)-daughter of
 Gnathaina 220, 227 n. 28, 240, 260
 'Gnathainion', w. of Philip V 183–7,
 220, 232–3, 244, 251–2
 Gygaea, w. of Amyntas III 11–16
 Gyges 4

 Halcyoneus 178–9, 182, 184, 192,
 232–3, 248
 Hammond 5
 Harmodius 250
 Harpalus, general of Alexander 221,
 231–2, 237, 240, 243, 247, 262,
 264, 268
 Harpalus, enemy of Eumenes II 204
 Hecatomnids 97
 Heliodorus 141
 Hephastion 41, 46
 Heracles, s. of Alexander III 41–8, 56
 Heracles (hero) 27, 68
 Heraclides 143–4
 Hermione xxvii
 Herod xxiii
 Hetairideia 232, 263
 Hierax 87
 Hieronymus of Cardia xxii–iii
 Hieronymus of Rhodes 179
 Hipparchus 263
 Hippe 219, 225–6, 235, 259–61
 Hippolytus 61, 122
 Holophernes 140, 146
 Humbaba *see* Combabos
 Hyperides 239

 Ion xxvii
 Isis 78–9
 Ithaca 87–93, 225, 232–3, 235, 244,
 249, 251

 Jacob xx
 Jason, hero xxvii
 Jason of Pherae xxix–xxx
 Jerome xxiv
 Joseph xx
 Josephus xxiii
 Justin xxi–ii

 Kynosarges 13

 Lagos, f. of Ptolemy I 67, 70, 78, 232–3
 Lagos, s. of Ptolemy I 68–73, 232–3,
 265
 Lamia 173–7, 192, 219–23, 225–6,
 231–3, 237–41, 243–4, 246–7, 249–
 50, 259–68, app. 1
 Lanassa 173–7
 Laodice (i) 119–24
 Laodice (ii), w. of Antiochus II xi, xiv,
 xxv, 56, 74, 79–80, 124–32, 161
 n. 38, 215, 237, app. 1
 Laodice (iii), d. of Antiochus II 127,
 133, 135
 Laodice (iv), w. of Seleucus II 124,
 132
 Laodice (v), w. of Antiochus III 72, 125

Index

- Laodice (vi), w. of Antiochus the Son,
 Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV xii,
 133–46
 Laodice (vii), w. of Perseus and
 Demetrius I of Syria 140–2, 146–7,
 187–90
 Laodice (viii), d. of Antiochus IV 143–6
 Laodice (ix), d. of Demetrius II of
 Syria 147–52
 Laodice (x), d. of Antiochus VII 147–52
 Laodice (xi), d. of Antiochus VII 147–
 52
 Laodice (xii), d. of Antiochus VIII
 153–4
 Laodice, mother of Seleucus I 118
 Leaina, c. of Demetrius I of Macedon
 219, 223, 225, 240, 243, 250, 260–2
 Leaina, c. of Harmodius 250
 Legitimacy xiv–xix and *passim*
 Leneus 84
 Leonnatus 13
 Leontiscus, pancratiast 233–4
 Leontiscus, s. of Ptolemy I 68–73,
 232–3, 242
 Levirate marriage xix, 8, 10, 15, 23–4,
 57, 59, 86, 123, 136, 142, 155, 157,
 174–5, 182
 Livy xxiii
 Lynceus of Samos 219–20, 225–6, 228
 n. 55, 234
 Lysandra xi, 58–61, 68–73, 121
 Lysimachus, Diadochos xi, xv, xx, xxx,
 10, 54–5, 57–62, 67, 70–2, 74, 76–
 7, 118, 121, 200, 249, 264
 Lysimachus, s. of Lysimachus 57–62, 76
 Lysimachus, s. of Ptolemy II 73–80, 82

Maccabees xxiii
 Machatas 17
 Machon 219–21, 225–6 and 215–78
 passim
 Magas, f. of Berenice I 70
 Magas, s. of Berenice, governor of
 Cyrene I 70, 80
 Magas, s. of Ptolemy III 80–2
 Majority, age of 31–2
 Mania, Antigoniid courtesan(s) 173,
 219–21, 223, 225, 233–4, 240, 243–
 4, 246–51, 259, 261, 266
 Mania, lady-in-waiting of Berenice
 Phernophoros 130, 217–18, app. 1

 Mantias xxvii, app. 1
 Mantitheus xxvii
 Margites 28
 Massinissa 224
 Meda/Medopa 17–27
 Medea xxvii, app. 1
 Megacles xxvii, 18
 Meleager (Babylon) 46–8
 Meleager, s. of Ptolemy I 68, 75
 Melitta, c. of Demetrius I 173, 225,
 243, 246, 248, 261
 Menedemos of Eretria 174
 Menelaus, s. of Alexander I
 Menelaus, s. of Amyntas III 11–16
 Menelaus, brother of Ptolemy I 242
 Merneptah 78
 Merovingians xvi
Mētroxenoī 21
Metz Epitome xxii
 Mithridates II of Pontus 72, 133
 Mithridates III 143
 Mithridates VI 95, 99, 101, 143, 238,
 240, 259
 Mithridates I of Parthia 148
 Mithridates I of Commagene 153
 Mithridates, s. of Antiochis, d. of
 Seleucus II 132
 Mithridates, s. of Antiochus III 133–40
 Mithridates, s. of Ariarathes IV 140
 Mithradatis 95
 Mnesis 224, 259
 Myrrhine, c. of Demetrius I of
 Macedon 177, 238–9, 243, 252
 Myrrhine, c. of Hyperides 239
 Myrtion 224, 252, 260
 Myrto xxvi
 Mysts 132, 222–3, 236, 238, 249, 264

 Nabis 187
 Nae(i)ra, maid of Cleopatra VII 217
 Nearchus 47
 Nectanebo 28
 Nefekaptah 78
 Nicaea, d. of Antipater, w. of Lysim-
 achus xi, 46, 54, 57–62, 74
 Nicaea, w. of Alexander of Corinth
 179–83
 Nicesipolis 17–27, 54
 Nicolaus of Damascus xxiii
 Nysa, d. of Antiochus the Son 135,
 140–2

- Nysa, d. of Seleucus I, w. of Antiochus I (?) 78, 119–27
 Nysa, c. of Seleucus II 132, 222–3
 Nyssa 95

 Octavia 104
 Octavian 103–5
 Oenanthe 81–2, 217, 223–4, 234, 236, 238, 242–3, 246, 251–2, 259–60, 264, 266–7
 Olympias, mother of Alexander III x, 17–29, 56, 237, app. 1
 Olympias, w. of Demetrius the Fair 182
 Ophellas of Cyrene 175
 Oppius 102
 Orestes 8–11
 Osiris 78–9
 Ottomans xvi
 Oxathres 58
 Oxyartes 58
 Oxythemis 173, 238

 Panariste 130, 217, app. 1
 Parmenion 42, 44
 Parysatis, w. of Alexander III 41, 126
 Parysatis, w. of Darius II 126
 Pausanias, Macedonian pretender 13
 Pausanias, assassin of Philip II 24
 Perdiccas I 4, 8, 245
 Perdiccas II xix, 5–10
 Perdiccas III 11–16, 142
 Perdiccas, Diadochos 46, 54, 57, 241
 Persaeus 178, 233
 Perseus, hero 27
 Perseus, king of Macedon xii, xvii–xviii, xx, xxiii, 86, 141, 147, 171, 178, 183–91, 220, 231–3, 239, 241, 250
 Petobastis III 92, 208
 Phaedra 61, 122
 Pharaohs 77–9, 126
 Pharsalia 238
 Phayllus 238
 Phila, d. of Antipater, w. of Demetrius I of Macedon 53, 121, 173–7, 240, 264, app. 1
 Phila, d. of Demetrius I of Macedon 173–7, 192, 232–3, 262, app. 1
 Phila, c. of Hiperides 239
 Phila, w. of Philip II 17–27
 Phila, d. of Seleucus I, w. of Antigonos II 119–24, 178–9
 Philaenis 250
 Philaids 175
 Philetaerus, founder of Attalid dynasty 118, 199–201, 218, 259
 Philetaerus, s. of Attalus I 201–2
 Philinna, w. of Philip II, 17–27, 215, 223, 243, 245, 260
 Philip I of Macedon
 Philip II x, xiv–xvi, xx, xxii, xxiv, 3–6, 10–29, 41–2, 67–8, 118, 223, 237, 243, 245, 260, app. 1
 Philip III Arrhidaeus, 17–27, 45–8, 215
 Philip IV 53–7
 Philip V xviii, 125, 137, 141–2, 171, 179–87, 191–2, 203, 206, 233, 244, 251–2
 Philip I of Syria 153–4, 157–8
 Philip II 101, 158
 Philip, s. of Alexander I
 Philip s. of Antigonos I 172–3, 239
 Philip, husband of Berenice I
 Philip, s. of Lysimachus 57, 77
 Philip ('real'), s. of Philip V, adopted by Perseus 183–7, 189–92
 Philocles 187
 Philomelus 238
 Philon 246
 Philotas 25
 Philotera 68–73, 79
 Phraates II 150–1
 Phratagune 127
 Phryne 219, 234, 264
 Phthia 179–83
 Phye 263
 Phylarchus xxii–iii
 Pisistratus xvii, xxvii–iii, 18, 263
 Pixodarus 22, 25
 Plangon, courtesan 250
 Plangon, w. of Mantias xxvii, app. 1
 Plato xxix
 Pleistarchus 175
 Plutarch ix, xv, xxiii–iv
 Polybius xxiii, 184
 Polycrateia 183–7, 189, 220, 232
 Polycrates 183
 Polygamy xiv–xix and *passim*
 Polyperchon 56
 Pompey 101, 158
 Popilius Laenas 85–6
 Porphyry xxiv, xxvi

- Poseidippus 74
 Potheine 224, 251, 259
 Protarchus 152
 Prusias II of Bithynia 179, 187
 Pseudophilip *see* Andriscus
 Psherenptah/Psenptais II 92
 Ptolemais 68–73, 173–7, 182
 Ptolemy I xi, xv, xvii, xxii, 4, 54, 58–9, 61, 67–73, 75, 80, 118, 121, 177, 215, 221, 231–3, 235–6, 241–3, 251, app. 1
 Ptolemy II xi, 59, 67–80, 128–30, 206, 217–19, 221–5, 232, 235–6, 238–9, 243–4, 248–52, 259–60, 264–5, 267, app. 1
 Ptolemy III 73–81, 129–30, 242, 251
 Ptolemy IV xxiii, 80–82, 97, 135, 217–19, 221, 223, 224, 232, 234–8, 240, 242–3, 246, 248, 250–2, 259–61, 264–7, app. 1
 Ptolemy V 81–3, 97, 134–5, 141, 186, 218, 223, 236
 Ptolemy VI xi, xiv, xx, 82–7, 94, 97, 117, 142, 145, 149, 153
 Ptolemy VII xxii, 83–7, 142
 Ptolemy VIII xi, xiv, xx, xxii, 73, 82–93, 94, 97, 117, 125, 142, 149, 152–3, 155, 208, 223–4, 232–3, 235, 244, 248–9, 251, 269
 Ptolemy IX xi, xiv, 87–99, 153–8
 Ptolemy X xi, xiv, 87–99
 Ptolemy XI 93–101
 Ptolemy XII xvii 93–101, 144, 232–3
 Ptolemy XIII 99–105
 Ptolemy XIV 99–105
 Ptolemy XV
 Ptolemy of Alorus xix, 11–16, 45, 61, 78, 125, 142, 182
 Ptolemy Apion xvii, 87–93, 232–3
 Ptolemy Ceraunus xi, xxii, 56, 59–62, 68–78, 124–5, 135
 Ptolemy of Cyprus 93–101
 Ptolemy Eupator 83–7
 Ptolemy of Megalopolis (s. of Agesarchus) 222–4
 Ptolemy Memphites 83–93, 125, 142
 Ptolemy Philadelphus, s. of Cleopatra VII
 Ptolemy the Son/of Ephesus 73–80, 236, 251
 Ptolemy of Telmessus 57–62
 Pyrrhus xv, xxiii, 55, 70, 175–6, 178, app. 1
 Pythionice 221, 231–2, 238, 243, 247, 262, 264, 268
 Rameses the Great 94
 Renaming of wives 12, 22–3
 Rhodogoune 148–9
 Rome xii, xviii, 85–6, 99, 102, 117, 141–4, 146, 171, 184–6, 208–10
 Romulus and Remus 189
 Roxane 41–8, 56, 119
 Sampsiceramus 158
 Sandracottus 120
 Sarapis 79
 Satyrus xiv–xvi, 17–19, 26
 Seleucus I xi–xii, xix, 10, 61, 71, 117–23, 136, 157, 171, 174, 178–9, app. 1
 Seleucus II xiv, 53, 56, 118, 124, 127–32, 140, 222–3, 236, 238, 249, 264
 Seleucus III 132
 Seleucus IV xii, 118, 133–42, 146, 148, 150, 152, 187
 Seleucus V 147–52
 Seleucus VI 153–4, 156, 236
 Seleucus, s. of Antiochus VII? 147
 Seleucus Cybiosactes 101, 157–8
 Seleucus, s. of Demetrius II of Syria 149
 Seuthes 6
 Severus, Gaius Julius 206
 Simiche 7–8
 Sirrhas 9, 12
 Sister-marriage 75–80, 97–9, 134–6 and 67–105 *passim*
 Sitalces 6
 Socrates xxvi
 Sosibius 82
 Sotades 79, 235
 Spitamenes 119
 Stateira, w. of Darius III 45, 126
 Stateira (Barsine), d. of Darius III, w. of Alexander III 23–4, 41–8, 126
 Stratonice, d. of Alexander I 5
 Stratonice, w. of Antigonus I 172, app. 1
 Stratonice, d. of Antiochus I, w. of Demetrius II of Macedon 124–7, 179–82
 Stratonice, d. of Antiochus II 127–32

- Stratonice, w. of Deiotarus 206
 Stratonice, d. of Demetrius I of
 Macedon, w. of Seleucus I and
 Antiochus I xi–xii, 10, 61, 119–27,
 136, 157, 173–9, app. 1
 Stratonice, w. of Eumenes II 202–7
 Stratonice, c. of Mithridates VI 238,
 240, 259
 Stratonice, c. of Ptolemy II 224, 264
 Sulla 99, 101

 Teres 187, 191–2
 Thais xvii, 42, 68–73, 219, 221, 231–3,
 235, 240–3, 245, 251, 259, 265–6,
 268
 Thalamegos app. 1
 Thalestris 42
 Thebe xxix–xxx
 Themistocles 249
 Theocritus 68, 73, 79
 Theodote 265
 Theodotus 219, 235
 Theopompus xxii, 13

 Theoxene, d. of Berenice I
 Therippidion 268
 Thersites 48
 Thessalonice xiv, xxv, 17–27, 53–7,
 131
 Tigranes 158
 Timarchus 79
 Trogus xxii
 Tryphon xii 141, 148, 269

 Vergina 26

 Weddings 43–4, 74, 133–4, 148, 176,
 178, 180, 188

 Xanthippe xxvi
 Xerxes of Armenia 132, 134–5, 139
 Xerxes, king of Persia 127

 Zabeilus 148
 Zabinas *see* Alexander II of Syria
 Zeus xxix, 21, 27–8, 67, 79, 119